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**The Canadian  
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CONTINUING

THE REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS  
RELATING TO CANADA

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# The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. XIX

TORONTO, DECEMBER, 1938

No. 4

## SOME NOTES ON THE FORMATION OF THE UNION GOVERNMENT IN 1917<sup>1</sup>

THERE is already considerable authentic literature on the establishment of union government in 1917. Sir Robert Borden, who was chiefly responsible for the formation of the war coalition, has devoted a lengthy chapter in his recently published memoirs to the negotiations that led to the union of Conservatives and Liberals. Mr. John W. Dafoe, editor of the *Winnipeg Free press*, who was frequently consulted at the time by Sir Robert, who interviewed Sir Wilfrid Laurier on a number of occasions, and was also in constant touch with Sir Clifford Sifton, has dealt with the subject in his life of Sifton and in his brochure on Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Finally, Dr. O. D. Skelton, official biographer of Sir Wilfrid, has written from the standpoint of the Liberal chieftain and the Liberals who opposed union government. My only reason for this article is that as a member of the parliamentary press gallery during the war years, representing the now defunct *Toronto News*, *The Times* (London), and a number of western papers, I was in touch with both parties and had unusual opportunities to observe the interplay of political forces and to know something of the intrigues and wire-pulling which went on behind the scenes.

Almost from the opening of the war there had been agitation for the formation of a national government to unite the country

<sup>1</sup>Mr. Arthur R. Ford was for many years a prominent newspaper correspondent at Ottawa for *The Times* of London, England, the *Toronto News*, the *London Free press*, and various papers in western Canada. He has been managing editor of the *London Free press* since 1920. He is a graduate of Victoria College and a member of the board of governors of the University of Western Ontario. During the course of the negotiations for union government, he was the closest of all the correspondents at Ottawa to Sir Robert Borden. Mr. Ford's article is, therefore, an interesting contribution to the source-material on the political situation in 1917. He refers in the course of his article to the following books: J. W. Dafoe, *Laurier: A study in Canadian politics* (Toronto, 1922), and *Clifford Sifton in relation to his times* (Toronto, 1931); O. D. Skelton, *The life and letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier* (Toronto, 1921); Henry Borden (ed.), *Robert Laird Borden: His memoirs* (Toronto, 1938), which will be reviewed in this journal in the near future. [EDITOR]

in its war effort. The movement was principally supported by patriots who knew nothing of the difficulties of government or the political exigencies which made a coalition extremely difficult. It did not reach the practical stage until the return of Sir Robert Borden from Great Britain and the front in May, 1917. He made his first speech in the house on May 18, explaining the seriousness of the war situation and announcing his belief that conscription was necessary if Canada was to put her full effort into the war. From that time until the new cabinet was finally formed, Sir Robert never wearied in his determination to form a union government. There were four stages in the negotiations and three times when the opponents of a coalition ministry—and at Ottawa there were almost as many Conservatives as Liberals opposed to the plan—were convinced that the scheme was dead.

The first period consisted of the negotiations from May 18 to June 6 when Sir Wilfrid Laurier definitely and finally refused to accept Sir Robert Borden's proposal for union government. After this date negotiations were carried on with Liberals apart from Laurier. The second stage ended with the western Liberal convention at Winnipeg on August 7 when the idea of coalition with the Conservatives was rejected and a resolution was passed endorsing Sir Wilfrid. Thanks largely to the efforts of Sir Clifford Sifton, negotiations were continued and the third stage ended with a wire from the western Liberals agreeing to union government, but only under the leadership of a new premier. This proposal was placed before the Conservative caucus on August 29 as the session was drawing to a close. Sir Robert suggested that he retire in favour of Sir George Foster, one of the men mentioned as successor. Sir George, in what was described by those present as one of the greatest orations in his whole career, rejected the suggestion and the caucus enthusiastically endorsed Sir Robert as leader. They would serve under no one else. The caucus broke up and the members dispersed to their homes convinced that union government was at last dead and prepared to line up on straight party lines for the election which was pending. This was on September 28.

Then came the final stage. Up to this time Sir Robert had had the support in his negotiations of a number of his colleagues, particularly the Right Hon. Arthur Meighen, who with the late Hon. J. D. Reid were his chief confidants. But even these two ministers felt that further negotiations were useless. They expressed doubts as to the good faith of the Liberal negotiators.

They feared that political opponents were playing politics with Sir Robert and that on the very edge of the election he would find himself with his own cabinet disorganized and his party without political machinery to enter a campaign. But Sir Robert persisted single-handed and finally, on the evening of October 12, came the announcement of the formation of the new government. It is no wonder that the Hon. Dr. Reid on the next day said that he would back Borden against Job in a patience contest.

Towards the end of the various stages, when everyone thought union government was dead, Sir Robert urged me to keep the idea alive in my papers and to insist that he would ultimately accomplish his object. The late T. H. Blacklock, a well-known Ottawa newspaper man, and myself were the only two members of the press gallery who followed this line. I recall that on one occasion Sir John Willison, then editor of the *Toronto News*, wrote to me pointing out that practically every paper in the country was stating that the union government scheme was killed and suggesting that I was making the *News* look rather foolish by my attitude. I replied stating that I was acting on the word of Sir Robert who was persistent in his belief that he would finally form a coalition ministry. Sir John answered that in the circumstances he would leave the policy of the *News* on the subject, as far as Ottawa was concerned, entirely in my hands.

In the Conservative ranks the Hon. Robert Rogers was the bitterest opponent of union government. He was the party campaign manager, "the minister of elections" as he was termed by the Liberals. Early in the war he had advocated an election, believing that the Conservatives could successfully capitalize on the patriotic sentiment abroad in the country. He was shrewd enough to know that if a coalition was formed he would be the first minister to be dropped since the Liberals would never accept him as a colleague. He was popular, however, with the rank and file. Any man who is known by his first name in political circles is usually a hail fellow. He was "Bob" to everyone while no one was ever known to dare to call Mr. Borden "Bob". Rogers controlled considerable patronage as minister of public works and kept alive the sentiment against coalition amongst Conservative members. What is more, he was intensely jealous of Mr. Meighen, realizing that the latter's influence and prestige were steadily increasing. Should union government be formed, Mr. Meighen was sure to be included as a leading Conservative minister from the west and Rogers's political light would then be extinguished. Consequently, as long as he remained a member of the cabinet

he was a stumbling block in the way of coalition. The Liberals mistrusted him and steadfastly refused to enter any cabinet with him as a member. His resignation on August 17 paved the way for the successful negotiations.

On the Liberal side, the Hon. Charles Murphy was the most active opponent of coalition. He was intensely partisan and a great admirer of Sir Wilfrid. With Celtic fervour and the hate an Irishman is capable of, he never forgave the Liberals who forsook Laurier. Union government and all its works were anathema to him. Walking up Metcalfe street after Sir Wilfrid Laurier's death, and when announcement had been made that the government was providing a state funeral, he remarked in all apparent sincerity to a member of the press gallery who had also been opposed to union government: "Do you think we can trust them with the old man's body?" Another story that is told is that after the return of the Liberals to power in 1921 and when he was postmaster-general, he was on a holiday in the south and there read in the *New York Times* that the Hon. George Murray, premier of Nova Scotia, was being suggested as Canadian ambassador to Washington. Mr. Murray had flirted with union government and had given Laurier no support in the 1917 election. He was, therefore, on the Murphy black list and from the south a telegram came to the premier at Ottawa, "I see by the Press you are considering the appointment of Murray as Ambassador to Washington. Why not King Tut? He has been a longer time dead and history does not record that he ever betrayed his party."

Party lines to-day are not as strictly drawn as they once were and it is difficult to appreciate the loyalty of the Liberals at Ottawa to both their party and their chief. Sir Wilfrid had been leader for some thirty years and his authority had been all powerful. Not only had the members accepted his leadership in the past without protest but there was also a most sincere affection for him. It was a terrible wrench to break with the veteran leader and to line up with Sir Robert Borden whose administration they had so often savagely attacked. To Mr. Murphy it was simply not understandable—conscriptio or no conscriptio, war or no war.

In July there was held in Toronto a meeting of Ontario Liberal members and candidates. It was an attempt to clarify the atmosphere. Those in favour of union government expected that it would pronounce in favour of a national ministry. But hostility developed. The majority present declared against extension of parliament, against coalition with the Conservatives, and against

the enforcement of conscription until after another voluntary effort. They enthusiastically endorsed Laurier.

The meeting was held behind closed doors and was supposed to be secret and confidential, but the Hon. Charles Murphy had arranged to have a report made of the proceedings. Just how the notes were taken has never been made clear. One story is that a stenographer had been concealed and took a full report of the speeches. My own belief is that E. W. Grange, who was the Ottawa correspondent of the *Toronto Globe* and had already been named as a Liberal candidate for Lennox-Addington, thereby giving him a seat on the floor, was responsible for the report. He was an experienced newspaperman who with a few notes could easily have compiled the report for Mr. Murphy. A number of copies were prepared and were taken to Winnipeg to the Liberal convention which had been called to decide the attitude of the Liberals in the west. The copies were carefully distributed among the members of the resolutions committee to show how unanimously the Liberals in Ontario stood against conscription and for Laurier. The report undoubtedly influenced the committee, the western Liberals being astonished to find the views expressed by the Ontario Liberal candidates. The resolutions committee brought down a report, later adopted, which sidestepped the issue of conscription and endorsed Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Mr. Murphy was jubilant.

The copies of the document which had been sent west were all numbered in order that they might be traced and returned to Mr. Murphy, but apparently some copies fell into the hands of conscriptionist Liberals who took the trouble to have them duplicated. They were passed from hand to hand until they reached some Conservatives. The *Toronto Telegram* secured a copy and published it in full, creating a political sensation. Some amusing speeches were included as Liberal members told of their difficulties. Sir Wilfrid himself had a curious idea at this time that it was possible for Ontario Liberal candidates to support conscription and yet at the same time be loyal to him. The late Hon. W. C. Kennedy, member for Windsor and later minister of railways, said that he felt like Eliza jumping from one cake of ice to another. He longed to get on some safer ground.

Of the group of Liberals in the house who favoured conscription perhaps the most influential was the Hon. Frank B. Carvell, an aggressive fighting New Brunswick member. He was convinced that conscription was a necessity but having been brought up in the New Brunswick school of extreme partisan politics, and

being himself a most bitter critic of the Borden administration, he hesitated to the last to accept Sir Robert's invitation. Early in October three Liberal members—there may have been more—Mr. Carvell, the late F. F. Pardee, and E. M. MacDonald, interviewed Sir Wilfrid Laurier and sought another solution. They intimated to him that the leadership of a French Canadian opposed to conscription would be a handicap and that under a conscriptionist leader the Liberals might win. They suggested that he resign in favour of an English-speaking leader. Of this incident Dr. Skelton writes: "Sir Wilfrid, who had more than once sought to resign, was surprised by this information, but at once replied that if there was any general feeling in that direction he would immediately withdraw; he would therefore consult his friends. On the way home one of the visitors stopped at a news agency and stated that Sir Wilfrid had definitely resigned. The blaze of astounded query and indignant protest from every quarter next day revealed the fatuity of the suggestion."

What Sir Wilfrid said to the deputation I do not know. Dr. Skelton is probably correct in his version but I happen to have been the "news agency" responsible for sending out the report. About one o'clock in the afternoon I met Mr. Carvell in the rotunda of the Château Laurier. I put to him the time-honoured newspaper query: "What's doing?" To my amazement he replied: "Laurier is going to resign." He then went on to explain that a deputation of Liberal members had waited on Sir Wilfrid and he had agreed to retire. I thought at first that he was joking but he assured me that it was absolutely correct and gave permission to use the story but without quoting him in any way. I lost no time in putting the story on the wires to the list of papers which I represented. The news had scarcely appeared in print when, as Dr. Skelton writes, the wires were hot with messages from Liberals all over the country protesting against any thought of their leader's retirement. By the time the morning newspaper correspondents had reached Sir Wilfrid to confirm or deny the story, pressure was such that if he had even thought of retiring he changed his mind. Sir Wilfrid took the train at once for Montreal and Toronto to consult his friends, and as a result of their insistence he decided to fight out the coming election. The failure of this move decided Mr. Carvell and from then on he negotiated freely with Sir Robert on the basis of a union government.

The entrance of Mr. Carvell into a cabinet headed by Sir Robert Borden created almost as much amazement and excitement in New Brunswick as if German warships had bombarded

Saint John. There had been rumours of a union government and even hints of the entrance into it of Mr. Carvell but they were regarded as merely Ottawa fairy tales. New Brunswick had never sent to Ottawa a more unrelenting and unrepentant Grit than Mr. Carvell. In season and out he had savagely attacked the Borden government and had waged a continual parliamentary duel with the Hon. Douglas Hazen, later Sir Douglas. Mr. Hazen, along with the other members of the cabinet, had placed his resignation in the premier's hands and it was a bitter pill for him to have to retire in favour of his old enemy. He loved political life and had no desire to retire to the bench.

On the other hand, the very opposite situation developed in the west. When union government was in its final stage of formation, Mr. Meighen laid down three provisions. One was that there were to be an equal number of Conservative and Liberal candidates from the west; a second was that there should be an equal division of portfolios, and the third was that he should have the portfolio of minister of the interior, an office which at that time was regarded as marking western leadership. Mr. Meighen professed a fear that the Liberal politicians, with their control of provincial organizations, would attempt to dominate the situation. All three conditions were accepted. The Hon. T. A. Crerar, the Hon. Arthur Sifton, and the Hon. J. A. Calder were the three Liberal ministers selected. Sir Robert Borden suggested H. W. Wood, president of the United Farmers of Alberta, as a minister, but Mr. Wood, who was American born and not familiar with Canadian politics, Canadian history, or eastern Canada, refused. He had never been east until invited to Ottawa by Sir Robert. The department of the interior was divided, Mr. Meighen being made minister of the interior and Mr. Calder given a new portfolio, immigration and colonization. Sir James Lougheed was made leader in the senate. When it came to British Columbia, it was necessary to have a Conservative in order to maintain the balance. The Hon. Martin Burrell, who had been minister of agriculture in the Borden cabinet, was anxious to retire from public life. He was a poor man and if he were defeated he feared that he would be in an unfortunate position. He wanted a senatorship or some post. However, neither Liberals nor Conservatives could agree on a successor. The names of the Hon. W. J. Bowser and Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper were suggested but curtly rejected. Mr. Burrell had no political enemies and was the only man upon whom both Liberal and Conservative unionists could agree. So while Mr. Hazen



retired reluctantly, Mr. Burrell, against his own wishes, remained in the government.

Outside of Sir Robert himself, the one man most responsible for union government was probably Sir Clifford Sifton. After he had made up his mind that it was the best thing for Canada, he persisted with the same determination as Sir Robert. His work was largely behind the scenes; he seldom appeared in the limelight. On the few occasions that he did so, he did his cause more harm than good. Before the Winnipeg convention he addressed a number of meetings in the west in favour of a national government, but the west regarded him as one who had gone over to the gods of the east. He had opposed reciprocity in 1911 and was looked upon as a betrayer by western Liberals who thought of him as the embodiment of eastern "Big Interests". His attempt to tell the west what it should do in 1917 was resented and had reactions in the Winnipeg Liberal convention. Dr. Skelton, in his life of Laurier, says that Sir Wilfrid had suspicions that Sifton's actions were connected with a desire to have a parliament favourable to the enactment of legislation to meet the approaching crisis in the affairs of the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific Railways. There was not, in my opinion, the slightest ground for such a statement. Sir William Mackenzie and Lord Shaughnessy were both frequently in Ottawa but, as Mr. Dafoe has pointed out, the fate of the Canadian Northern Railway was settled before the union government was ever formed. Sir Robert Borden writes in his memoirs that it was on June 14, four months before the formation of union government, that he had an interview with Sir William and definitely informed him that the government could grant no further aid but must take over the Canadian Northern in its entirety. He adds: "Sir William was a man of iron nerve and this was one of only two occasions on which I saw his self-control desert him. Knowing my decision was final, he was silent for a moment and then completely broke down with audible sobs that were most distressing" (p. 650).

I agree with Mr. Dafoe who in his life of Sir Clifford Sifton says that the charges made against him were without foundation. Sir Clifford, rightly or wrongly, became convinced that a union government was the only means of uniting the country in its war efforts and he sincerely and patriotically worked to this end. The formation of union government was primarily the triumph of Sir Robert Borden but on the Liberal side most credit must be given to Sir Clifford Sifton.

ARTHUR R. FORD



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## THE EARLY FUR TRADE IN NEW FRANCE AND NEW NETHERLAND

THE histories of New France and New Netherland prior to 1645 are similar in broad outline and when one examines the fur trade, the chief economic interest in both colonies, the resemblances which emerge are on the whole more striking than the points of difference. Nevertheless the developments on the St. Lawrence were by no means identical with those on the Hudson and a comparison will throw light on the distinctive characteristics of each colony.

It was fish and not fur which first attracted the French and Dutch to America. The French were on the Grand Banks in 1504<sup>1</sup> and within a century they built up an industry there and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence which employed about a thousand vessels annually.<sup>2</sup> The Dutch, on the other hand, do not seem to have appeared at Newfoundland until the 1580's and '90's<sup>3</sup> and although they continued to frequent the east coast in the seventeenth century they did not develop extensive fisheries. They were already supreme in the North sea herring fishery<sup>4</sup> and were not easily diverted to more distant and less remunerative fisheries in America. Their interest in Newfoundland was chiefly in the sack trade. Instead of going to Plymouth and other west country ports to buy cod after the return of the banks fleet, the Dutch took

<sup>1</sup>All French manuscript sources cited in this article were consulted in transcript at the Public Archives in Ottawa. References are given to the page number of the transcript wherever possible.

*Works of Samuel de Champlain* ed. H. P. Biggar (Champlain Society, Toronto, 1922-36), III, 260; *Jesuit relations and allied documents* ed. R. G. Thwaites (Cleveland, 1894-1901), III, 39-41, IV, 105; Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, *Fonds français 8030*, "Histoire abrégée des compagnies de commerce", 6; *ibid.* 13424, "Découverte de l'Amérique", 3-4; *Collection of documents relating to Jacques Cartier and the Sieur de Roberval* (Publications of the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, 1924), xix. Cf. R. Hakluyt, *The principal navigations, voyages, traffiques and discoveries of the English nation* (Glasgow, 1903-5), VIII, 438; R. Barlow, *A brief summe of geographia* (Hakluyt Society, London, 1932), 179; W. F. Ganong, "Crucial maps in the early cartography and place-nomenclature of the Atlantic coast of Canada, I" (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, ser. 3, XXIII, 1929, sect. 2, 167-70).

<sup>2</sup>About 600 Breton and Norman vessels were engaged in the cod fisheries alone. See A. de Montchrétien, *Traicté de l'oeconomie politique dédié en 1615 au roy et à la reyne mère du roy* ed. Th. Funck-Brentano (Paris, 1889), 231; Champlain, *Works*, II, 327, 335.

<sup>3</sup>*Fonds français 15452*, A. Thevet, "Le grand insulaire", 10; *Proceedings and debates of the British parliaments respecting North America* ed. L. F. Stock (Carnegie Institution, Washington, 1924), I, 7.

<sup>4</sup>According to van Meteren they were sending 1,500 vessels to the North sea fishery in 1610. See *History of the state of New York* ed. A. C. Flick, I (New York, 1933), 182.

their galiots directly to Newfoundland.<sup>5</sup> Apparently they found that they could engage more profitably in sack fishing than in green fishing on the banks.

In connection with the dry fishery which they established in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the French carried on barter for furs. In the 1580's certain Malouin merchants despatched vessels for trade alone<sup>6</sup> and they made such a fabulous profit that rivals flocked into the field. Excessive competition, however, proved to be only one of the risks of a trading voyage. Returns from fur were so variable during the next three decades that even the privileged companies combined fishing with the fur trade in order to lessen the heavy expenses of the long voyage.<sup>7</sup> Thus the earliest French trade was subsidiary to, and dependent on, the fisheries until Champlain and his associates opened up a steady and substantial trade with Indians living up the Ottawa river. French coastal trade always retained that close connection with the fisheries which was characteristic of this early period but it never became comparable in value or volume<sup>8</sup> with the trade established with inland tribes.

The fur trade in New Netherland originated and developed independently of the fisheries. There were no profitable fishing grounds off shore and apparently the merchants who sent ships to the Hudson between 1610 and 1622 were interested solely in the fur trade.<sup>9</sup> Interloping in Acadia and the Gulf of St. Lawrence was another matter, however. Dutch pirates active off the coast of Newfoundland and New Netherlanders returning to the mother country took whatever they could get of fish and oil as well as fur.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup>D. W. Prowse, *A history of Newfoundland* (London, 1896), 58, 127, 153, 163; *Documents relative to the colonial history of the state of New York* ed. E. B. O'Callaghan (Albany, 1853), I, 15 (hereafter cited as NYCD); C. B. Judah, *The North American fisheries and British policy to 1713* (Illinois studies in the social sciences, Urbana, 1933), 87 ff.

<sup>6</sup>Hakluyt, *Principal navigations*, VIII, 146, 272-4; *Calendar of state papers, colonial series, addenda 1574-1674*, 20; R. Hakluyt, "A discourse concerning western planting" ed. C. Deane (*Maine Historical Society collections*, ser. 2, *Documentary history*, II, 34-5, 101-2).

<sup>7</sup>*Documents relatifs à la marine normande et à ses armements aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles* éd. C. et P. Bréard (La Société de l'Histoire de Normandie, Rouen, 1889), 69-70, 84-92; M. Lescarbot, *The history of New France* trans. and ed. W. L. Grant (Champlain Society, Toronto, 1907-14), II, 350; Champlain, *Works*, V, 101; A. Gosselin, "Les Normands au Canada" (*Précis analytique des travaux de l'Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Rouen pendant l'année 1871-72*, 325-6, 331-6).

<sup>8</sup>See Champlain's explanation, *Works*, IV, 28-9.

<sup>9</sup>NYCD, I, 11, III, 7; *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664* ed. J. F. Jameson (Original narratives of early American history, New York, 1909), 7, 22, 25, 26, 38, 78, 81.

<sup>10</sup>Lescarbot, *History of New France*, II, 350-1; Montchrétien, *Traicté de l'économie politique*, 229; *Recueil des lettres missives de Henri IV* éd. J. Berger de Xivrey (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, série I, Histoire politique, Paris, 1843-76), VII, 465-6; "A Spanish account of New France" trans. M. A. Buchanan and J. E.

The French complained to Louis XIII in 1641 that the Dutch were making serious inroads into the Acadian trade,<sup>11</sup> but nothing came of their protest.<sup>12</sup>

Both the French and Dutch were located on rivers favourable to the development of a large inland trade. The French were nearer the territories from which a seemingly inexhaustible supply of the best beaver was obtainable but this advantage was offset by the difficulties which they experienced in navigating the St. Lawrence. Until the 1630's they left their sea-going vessels at Tadoussac and proceeded beyond that port in pinnaces.<sup>13</sup> After they had become familiar with the channel, they took ships of one to two hundred tons up the river but only as far as Quebec.<sup>14</sup> Between Quebec and the Ottawa they were able to use pinnaces and shallops but in order to travel on the tributaries of the St. Lawrence they required canoes and the assistance of friendly Indians. By canoe, however, the French could go swiftly and easily from the St. Lawrence to any part of the interior.

The Hudson river furnished a short, practicable route to the upper St. Lawrence and great lakes but the Dutch were slow to realize this fact. Early traders frequently sailed to the mouth of the Mohawk. The West India Company, however, refused to allow its ships to go above Manhattan where freight and passengers were transferred to yachts for conveyance to other points.<sup>15</sup> In river and coastwise trade they used sloops and yachts.<sup>16</sup> The clumsy dugout characteristic of the tribes of the lower Hudson held no attraction for Europeans, of course, but if they had so desired the Dutch could have secured elm-bark canoes from the Iroquois and birch-bark canoes from northern tribes. They did not adopt the canoe for ordinary travel, however. After Kleyn-ties's capture by the Conestoga in 1614,<sup>17</sup> the Dutch did not

Shaw (CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, I, 1920, 288); Prowse, *History of Newfoundland*, 103; *Van Rensselaer Bowier MSS* trans. and ed. A. J. F. van Laer (Albany, N.Y., 1908), 407, 421.

<sup>11</sup>Ministère des affaires étrangères, Paris, *Mémoires et documents*, IV, 182.

<sup>12</sup>Two Dutch ships were caught trading there in 1642 and 1644 respectively. See transcript in Public Archives of Canada of *Amirauté de La Rochelle*, Liasse 77, dossiers 2, 6.

<sup>13</sup>Champlain, *Works*, II, 25, 333; G. Sagard-Théodat, *Le grand voyage du pays des Hurons* (Paris, 1865), 31. The first occasion on which ships were taken up the river seems to have been in 1629 when the Kirkes secured the services of captive French pilots and sailed right to Quebec.

<sup>14</sup>*Jesuit relations*, VIII, 47, IX, 161, XXVI, 137-9.

<sup>15</sup>*Van Rensselaer Bowier MSS*, 569-70, 613; *Narratives of New Netherland*, 54.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, 7, 50, 54, 86, 87; *Documents relating to New Netherland, 1624-1626* ed. A. J. F. van Laer (Huntington Library and Art Gallery Publications, San Marino, Cal., 1924), 192, 200, 224.

<sup>17</sup>*NYCD*, I, 14; also inscription on map facing p. 11. It was to this incident that Champlain referred in *Works*, III, 54-5.

wander far from the Hudson until 1634-5 when traders went west to the Oneida villages<sup>18</sup> and north to the St. Lawrence.<sup>19</sup> Like the Indians they found it easier to go to the Iroquois country by land than by water but probably they used canoes in order to reach the St. Lawrence.<sup>20</sup> Inland travel was discouraged by Indian hostility in the 1640's, particularly in the war zone north of Fort Orange, and so the Dutch had no special reason to use canoes in that decade.

Both the French and Dutch depended on the Indians to collect and carry furs to the posts or rendezvous for trade. The French made their earliest contacts with migratory Algonkian tribes which lived by hunting and fishing. They were fortunate, too, in their friendship with the Hurons, a sedentary tribe of Iroquoian stock which practised agriculture and also travelled far afield to barter maize for hides and fur.<sup>21</sup> The French thus were able to build their trade on the existing foundation of intertribal barter and to benefit from a wider and more rapid distribution of their goods than otherwise would have been possible. As early as the 1620's, however, they found that Indian middlemen could be troublesome and a hindrance to the extension of trade. Native monopolists were jealous of their customary rights and persistently tried to exclude the French from profitable territories.<sup>22</sup>

Most of the Indians in New Netherland belonged to semi-agricultural tribes of Algonkian stock. Being relatively self-sufficient they were not much given to intertribal barter and, with the exception of the Mahican who lived in the upper Hudson valley, they were of little use to the Dutch as middlemen. They had access, however, to an abundant supply of wampum which attracted visits from the Adirondacks, Montagnais, and others from north of the St. Lawrence.<sup>23</sup> By capitalizing this demand for wampum the Dutch could have vastly increased the volume

<sup>18</sup>*Narratives of New Netherland*, 139-57.

<sup>19</sup>A. van der Donck, "A description of the New Netherlands" trans. J. Johnson (*New York Historical Society collections*, ser. 2, I, 214. See also *Jesuit relations*, XV, 31.

<sup>20</sup>Van der Donck, however, did not believe that it was possible "to proceed in boats to the river of Canada". See "A description of the New Netherlands", 143.

<sup>21</sup>Sagard, *Grand voyage*, 90, 243. Huronia was a resort for traders of non-agricultural tribes. See *ibid.*, 53; *Jesuit relations*, VIII, 115.

<sup>22</sup>Champlain, *Works*, II, 19, 286-8, III, 100; Sagard, *Grand voyage*, 51, 75, 257, 260; G. Sagard-Théodat, *Histoire du Canada et voyages que les frères mineurs Recollects y ont faits pour la conversion des infidèles depuis l'an 1615* (Paris, 1866), III, 801-5; *Jesuit relations*, VI, 19, VIII, 41, IX, 247, X, 77, 223-5, XII, 247, XV, 151, XX, 19.

<sup>23</sup>*Narratives of New Netherland*, 47, 86; *Documents relating to New Netherland, 1624-1626*, 224; Champlain, *Works*, V, 214. See also Catelyn Trico's evidence in *Documentary history of the state of New York* ed. E. B. O'Callaghan (Albany, 1849-51), III, 51. Southerners occasionally made return visits to the north. See Champlain, *Works*, IV, 141.

of their trade, as de Rasière, the company's chief commercial agent in New Netherland, seems to have realized.<sup>24</sup> The Mahican were on friendly terms with their northern neighbours and probably would have welcomed regular visits from potential allies. The Mahican, however, were defeated in battle by the Mohawk in 1626 and during the next three years they were driven to the Connecticut river.<sup>25</sup> Thereafter the Mohawk dominated the Hudson valley and naturally they did not permit any of their enemies to share in the benefits of direct trade with the Dutch.<sup>26</sup>

Of Iroquoian tribes the Dutch encountered the Mohawk within the first five years of trade and some of the upper Iroquois whom they called the Seneca.<sup>27</sup> They also had dealings with the Conestoga who lived on the Susquehanna river and were occasionally the allies of the Hurons against the Iroquois.<sup>28</sup> Until 1626 the Iroquois were denied free access to Dutch posts by the Mahican but after that date the Mohawk became aggressive in the fur trade. The Mohawk, in turn, demanded toll from the upper Iroquois who journeyed through their country to trade at Fort Orange and the upper Iroquois barred the way to their neighbours, the Conestoga. It was therefore difficult for the Dutch to work up trade with the upper tribes of the Iroquois confederacy and to establish continuous contact with the Conestoga through whom they might have reached the Hurons.

Proximity of the French and Dutch seemed likely to induce competition and conflict but there was no interference of one nation with the activities of the other prior to the 1630's. Indeed, factors which later intensified the struggle for control of the interior during this early period tended to separate rather than to draw the French and Dutch into collision. The French looked to the north and west for furs<sup>29</sup> and a route to the orient. The Dutch were preoccupied with their river and coastwise trade and did not engage in the search for a north-west passage by land. Thus neither trade nor exploration gave incentive to the encroachment of one nation on the territory claimed or desired by the other. Moreover, recurrent warfare between the Iroquois and northern Indians frequently broke off communication between the lands

<sup>24</sup>*Documents relating to New Netherland, 1624-1626*, 212-5.

<sup>25</sup>*Narratives of New Netherland*, 84, 89; *Jesuit relations*, XXVIII, 113-5; *Van Rensselaer Bowier MSS*, 306.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, 248, 553.

<sup>27</sup>*Narratives of New Netherland*, 47, 53, 139. See map in *NYCD*, I, 13.

<sup>28</sup>Champlain, *Works*, III, 53-4, VI, 250.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, IV, 300-1.

north and south of the St. Lawrence and consequently checked any tendency of French and Dutch activities to overlap.

If Champlain had brought about a general pacification among tribes, he would have destroyed the chief protection which the French possessed against Dutch aggression in the 1630's and '40's. It was evident to Champlain that success and security in trade depended on the maintenance of amicable relations with the Montagnais who controlled the mouth of the St. Lawrence. It seemed, too, that penetration to the north and west could be easily effected by promising military assistance to tribes willing to facilitate French trade and exploration. On this basis Champlain struck a bargain with the Montagnais, Algonkin, and Hurons in turn.<sup>30</sup> Yet within a decade of his first participation in battle against the Iroquois, he realized that war and the rumour of war seriously impeded trade with the upper country.<sup>31</sup> In 1622 he directed his efforts towards obtaining peace and was instrumental in bringing negotiations to a successful conclusion in 1624.<sup>32</sup> His policy, however, did not meet with the approval of other traders who feared that a cessation of hostilities between the Iroquois and the Hurons would result in the diversion of Huron trade to the Dutch.<sup>33</sup> Champlain may have hoped that French influence was strong enough to avert that misfortune but his chief concern was to prevent a greater disaster—the closing to trade of the St. Lawrence itself.

Of Dutch designs on northern trade there can be no doubt. Van Krieckenbeeck, the *commis* at Fort Orange, joined the Mahican against the Mohawk in 1626<sup>34</sup> probably in the hope of clearing the way to regular trade with northern Indians. De Rasière disapproved of this "reckless adventure" yet himself wanted to drive off the Mohawk unless they would give "French Indians" a free passage through their country for trade with the Dutch.<sup>35</sup> De Rasière's threat was never carried out because the official policy of the West India Company was one of strict neutrality in so far as native quarrels and wars were concerned.<sup>36</sup> In 1635 the Dutch again were suspected of trying to break up the northern alliance

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, II, 69, 104-5, 110, 118-9, 254, 265, 276, 283-5, III, 226-8, IV, 183-4, 227-8.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, III, 31, 103. See also *ibid.*, V, 216.

<sup>32</sup>This peace was short-lived. See *ibid.*, V, 73 ff.

<sup>33</sup>Sagard, *Histoire*, III, 811.

<sup>34</sup>The *commis* and three of his Dutch companions were killed in the battle. See *Narratives of New Netherland*, 84; *Jesuit relations*, XXVIII, 113-5. Van Rensselaer declared that van Krieckenbeeck incited the Mahican to take the field against the Mohawk. See *Van Rensselaer Bowier MSS*, 306.

<sup>35</sup>*Documents relating to New Netherland, 1624-1626*, 212-5.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, 52-5, 109.

in order to draw the Hurons down to the Hudson.<sup>37</sup> As a matter of fact, the Dutch ardently desired this end but were unable to achieve it in the face of Mohawk opposition. In 1633 van Rensselaer complained that the Mohawk were obstinately blocking Dutch trade with French Indians.<sup>38</sup> In the following year van den Bogaert visited the Mohawk and Oneida in order to investigate reports that the French were undercutting Dutch prices. The Mohawk had made a truce with French Indians because they wanted as much for their furs as the northerners received.<sup>39</sup> In 1641 van Rensselaer was still hoping to divert to his warehouse some of the beaver going to Quebec,<sup>40</sup> so apparently the Mohawk had remained firm in their resistance to Dutch ambitions in the north.

The administrative history of trade in New France is similar to that of New Netherland in all essential points. The French and Dutch experimented with both free trade and monopoly. Under free trade the French suffered to a greater extent from excessive competition than the Dutch, but this was to be expected. Comparatively few merchants were attracted to the Hudson because the herring fishery and the Baltic and East India trades provided better fields for investment than the fur trade of New Netherland. French fisheries in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, on the other hand, furnished the opportunity as well as the capital and experience necessary to successful participation in the Canadian fur trade. Even the monopolists found it impossible to prevent interloping and smuggling, although it must be admitted that they did not spend money on the armaments necessary to enforce their privileges.<sup>41</sup> In New Netherland there was time for only one grant of monopoly prior to the formation of the West India Company, and since the Amsterdam and north Holland merchants who had been sending ships to the Hudson between 1609 and 1615 were included in its membership, the United or New Netherland Company<sup>42</sup> enjoyed relative freedom from interloping.

The two great privileged companies which secured rights of trade and government in New France and New Netherland appeared within the same decade. The Dutch West India Com-

<sup>37</sup> *Jesuit relations*, VIII, 59-61.

<sup>38</sup> *Van Rensselaer Bowier MSS*, 248.

<sup>39</sup> *Narratives of New Netherland*, 139.

<sup>40</sup> *Van Rensselaer Bowier MSS*, 553.

<sup>41</sup> *Champlain, Works*, V, 176-7.

<sup>42</sup> *NYCD*, I, 10-2. It secured the exclusive right to make four voyages within three years from January 1, 1615.



pany obtained its monopoly in 1621,<sup>43</sup> the Company of New France in 1627.<sup>44</sup> The French company was organized under the distinguished patronage of Cardinal Richelieu but it was not subsidized by the state or granted special protection as was the case with the Dutch company. The Company of New France was interested primarily in the development of the Canadian fur trade. It was hampered by excessively heavy obligations in the matter of colonization and was dealt a staggering blow by the capture of its fleet by the Kirkes in 1628<sup>45</sup> and the conquest of Quebec in the following year. The Dutch West India Company, on the other hand, was a "warlike company" whose real purpose was the destruction of Spanish power and the spoliation of Spanish possessions in the new world.<sup>46</sup> It was given a monopoly of trade with the coasts of Africa from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope and with the entire coast of the Americas from Newfoundland to the Straits of Magellan and Le Maire and north to Bering sea. In comparison with the dazzling results of privateering and of trade in African ivory, gold, and slaves, the fur trade of New Netherland was "trifling" indeed,<sup>47</sup> and consequently the colony was of only minor importance in the company's scheme of things. Moreover, the West India Company was not expected to colonize the vast territories entrusted to its charge and allowed patroons to assume this burden in New Netherland.<sup>48</sup>

Neither company enjoyed financial success. The Company of New France started out with a capital fund of 300,000 livres. Its expenditures up to 1645 amounted to 905,084 livres for which it received only 152,301 livres in return.<sup>49</sup> In 1632 it allowed a subsidiary company to manage the trade for five years on condition that it furnish 10,000 livres to defray the ordinary charges of the colony and allow the general company an interest of one-third. Under this arrangement the Company of New France received

<sup>43</sup>Final organization was not completed for two years. See *Van Rensselaer Bowier MSS*, 86 ff.

<sup>44</sup>*Edits, ordonnances royaux, déclarations et arrêts du conseil d'état du roi concernant le Canada* (Québec, 1854), I, 5 ff.

<sup>45</sup>Seven vessels had been equipped at a cost of over 164,720 livres. See Public Archives of Canada, *Correspondance officielle*, série 2, I, 37; *Archives des colonies, Série C<sup>11A</sup>*, I, 180. A second fleet costing 103,976 livres was despatched the following year but did not reach Quebec. See *ibid.*, 181.

<sup>46</sup>G. M. Asher, *A bibliographical and historical essay on the Dutch books and pamphlets relating to New Netherland* (Amsterdam, 1854-67), 32, 184. See also J. F. Jameson, "Willem Usselinx" (*Papers of the American Historical Association*, II, no. 3, 28).

<sup>47</sup>*NYCD*, I, 66.

<sup>48</sup>*Van Rensselaer Bowier MSS*, 91, 236-7.

<sup>49</sup>*Correspondance officielle*, série 2, I, 41-3; *Archives des colonies, Série C<sup>11A</sup>*, I, 186.



60,000 livres as its share of the profit.<sup>50</sup> In 1638 another subsidiary company was organized from among the shareholders like the first, but when accounts were balanced after four years' operations, it was found that the losses sustained by this company were greater than the profits made by the first subsidiary company.<sup>51</sup> The general company raised sufficient money for the embarkations of 1642 and 1643 from which it obtained a profit of 85,037 livres.<sup>52</sup> By 1643, however, the company's total indebtedness had reached the alarming amount of 410,796 livres,<sup>53</sup> and its affairs were in such confusion that it reluctantly agreed in 1645 to lease the trade to a group of leading colonists in return for the annual payment of 1,000 livres' weight of beaver and the assumption of the administrative expenses of the colony.<sup>54</sup>

The Dutch West India Company commenced operations with a capital of 7,108,106.50 guilders.<sup>55</sup> It spent huge sums on the equipment of privateering expeditions from which it occasionally secured immense returns.<sup>56</sup> The war was costly, however, and the provinces were tardy and irregular in making payments on the promised subsidies<sup>57</sup> so the company was forced practically into bankruptcy. In 1644 it required 1,000,000 guilders to meet immediate demands and for the future the Amsterdam chamber suggested union with the wealthy East India Company.<sup>58</sup> The upkeep of New Netherland accounted for only a small portion of the company's enormous debt. The official audit of 1644 revealed that the colony had produced only 50,000 to 70,000 guilders annually and had cost over 550,000 guilders, "deducting the returns received therefrom".<sup>59</sup>

From the outset the West India Company intended to

<sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, 182; Archives nationales, *Colonies F<sup>3</sup>A*, carton 13, pièce 70, p. 2.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, 5-6.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, 17-20.

<sup>53</sup>See the detailed statement in *Archives des colonies, Série C<sup>1</sup>A*, I, 361-97.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, 407-13; *Fonds français 10207*, "Articles accordés entre les directeurs et associez en la compagnie de la Nouvelle-France, 1645"; *Edits, ordonnances royaux*, I, 28-9.

<sup>55</sup>*Documents relating to New Netherland, 1624-1626*, xii.

<sup>56</sup>In 1628 Piet Heyn captured the entire silver fleet returning from Cuba to Spain, the booty realizing at least 12,000,000 guilders for the company. See *NYCD*, I, 41; J. R. Brodhead, *History of the state of New York* (New York, 1853), I, 184; P. J. Blok, *History of the people of the Netherlands* (New York, 1907), IV, 36-7. In 1629 the company claimed to have taken over 200 merchantmen in addition to several galleons. By 1636 the number of its prizes had risen to 545 of which the cargoes brought in 90,000,000 guilders, making a handsome profit of 45,000,000 guilders. See *NYCD*, I, 42; P. Bonnassieux, *Les grandes compagnies de commerce* (Paris, 1892), 72.

<sup>57</sup>Asher, *Dutch books and pamphlets*, 54 ff.

<sup>58</sup>*NYCD*, I, 141-2.

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*, 153. Dr. Jameson puts the cost at 515,000 guilders. See *Narratives of New Netherland*, 321, n. 1.

exclude colonists from participation in the fur trade but relaxed its regulations in 1629 to permit the patroons to trade at places where it had no agent.<sup>60</sup> The patroons were so energetic in taking advantage of this opportunity that they laid themselves open to the charge of trying to injure the company's business so in 1632 they were forbidden to deal in furs.<sup>61</sup> This gave rise to a lengthy controversy which ended in the company's decision in 1639 to open trade to everyone in the colony.<sup>62</sup> In New France beaver was early recognized as "the coin of greatest value" and Champlain, du Pont, Couillard, and the Jesuits had several hundred pelts in their possession at the time of their surrender to the Kirkes in 1629.<sup>63</sup> Apparently the Company of New France knew that it could not prevent colonists from using beaver for currency and from making some profit out of barter and it did not object as long as the skins finally came to its warehouse.<sup>64</sup>

There were no important differences in the methods of trade employed in the two colonies. Both the French and Dutch urged the Indians to take their furs to the posts but both compromised to the extent of meeting them at some more convenient point for trade. The French, however, were aggressive in beating up trade. By the exchange of gifts, by sending youths to winter with distant tribes, by friendly contacts made by explorers, by establishing missions and schools, and by participating in native wars, the French tried to put the Indians under obligation to come down annually for barter. The Dutch distributed gifts, though not as lavishly or as systematically as the French. They entertained Indian trading parties in their homes<sup>65</sup> and some of them enjoyed the hospitality of Mohawk hosts but they did not make a practice of sending young men to live with the Indians. They were not interested in missionary activity and they were definitely instructed to keep out of native quarrels.<sup>66</sup> By catering to Indian taste in trading goods, however, they managed to stimulate trade without resort to other devices.

Beaver was the most acceptable peltry obtained in trade

<sup>60</sup>*Van Rensselaer Bowier MSS*, 145.

<sup>61</sup>*Laws and ordinances of New Netherland* ed. E. B. O'Callaghan (Albany, 1868), 13-4.

<sup>62</sup>*Van Rensselaer Bowier MSS*, 424-5.

<sup>63</sup>*Oeuvres de Champlain* éd. C. H. Laverdière (Québec, 1870), VI, 15-6 (1427-8); "Documents relating to negotiations with England, 1629-1633" (*Report of the Public Archives of Canada for 1912*, appendix D, 22).

<sup>64</sup>*Jesuit relations*, IX, 171-81; *Edits, ordonnances royaux*, I, 8.

<sup>65</sup>See, for example, *Narratives of New Netherland*, 175, 273.

<sup>66</sup>*Documents relating to New Netherland, 1624-26*, 52-5, 109. There is no reason to believe that this policy was abandoned prior to 1645.

although otter also was welcomed by the Dutch. Ironware of all kinds pleased the Indians. The French found that kettles were much in demand, while the Dutch specialized in duffel cloth and wampum.<sup>67</sup> Both nations made moderate use of firearms and brandy in their early trade but interlopers in New France and private traders in New Netherland distributed them so freely that it became necessary to restrict and eventually to prohibit their use by irresponsible persons. The French forbade trade in guns and ammunition in 1612.<sup>68</sup> The Dutch procrastinated until 1639<sup>69</sup> when the mischief was already done. Difficulties in transportation precluded the use of intoxicating liquor in French trade with inland tribes but Indians at Tadoussac and in Acadia were able to indulge in drunkenness after the ships arrived each summer. Champlain tried to check the resulting disorders by a "stringent prohibition" issued in 1633<sup>70</sup> which his successor, Montmagny, reiterated in 1644.<sup>71</sup> The Dutch allowed beer and brandy to be used recklessly in trade<sup>72</sup> until Indian violence and war threatened the security of the colony. After a general uprising among tribes of the lower Hudson, the council of New Netherland forbade the sale of spirits and other intoxicating liquor to the Indians in 1643.<sup>73</sup> As in New France, however, the regulation was observed more in the breach than in the enforcement. Once the Indians had acquired a craving for brandy and firearms, they made incessant demands for these articles and with these demands Dutch private traders willingly complied.

As noted above, the years 1626-30 witnessed an important change in the trading situation in the Hudson valley when the Mohawk won the right of free access to Fort Orange and Rensselaerswyck. Coincident with this change occurred the lax administrations of the directors-general, Minuit<sup>74</sup> and van Twiller,<sup>75</sup> during which private individuals and clerks of the company

<sup>67</sup>Van der Donck, "A description of the New Netherlands", 194-5; *Narratives of New Netherland*, 106, 130, 151, 173, 176, 217, 270, 301; *Van Rensselaer Bowier MSS*, 427, 467, 471, 520, 545, 563, 633, 667, 670; *Documents relating to New Netherland*, 1624-1626, 223-31.

<sup>68</sup>Archives départementales de la Seine Inférieure, *Registres du Parlement de Rouen*, 4 mars 1613.

<sup>69</sup>*Laws and ordinances of New Netherland*, 18-9; *Van Rensselaer Bowier MSS*, 426.

<sup>70</sup>*Mercure françois*, XIX, 841; *Jesuit relations*, VI, 328-9, n. 19.

<sup>71</sup>*Ordonnances, commissions . . . des gouverneurs et intendants de la Nouvelle-France*, 1639-1706 éd. P. G. Roy (Publications des Archives de la province de Québec, Beauville, 1924), I, 5-6.

<sup>72</sup>*Van Rensselaer Bowier MSS*, 253, 267, 283, 683; *Narratives of New Netherland*, 216.

<sup>73</sup>*Laws and ordinances of New Netherland*, 34.

<sup>74</sup>1626-32.

<sup>75</sup>1633-8.

smuggled and embezzled furs with impunity.<sup>76</sup> Competition became keener with the introduction of free trade in 1639 and excessive familiarity and "treating" became the order of the day. Guns were made available to the Iroquois in dangerous quantities although withheld as far as possible from tribes of the lower Hudson.<sup>77</sup> By 1642 the Mohawk were armed to the number of four hundred.<sup>78</sup>

The French were excluded from the St. Lawrence between 1629 and 1632 when the English were in occupation of Quebec. Immediately after their return French agents began to appear among the Onondaga and Oneida<sup>79</sup> but evidently they did not make a determined bid for their trade. The upper Iroquois were jealous of the advantages which the Mohawk enjoyed in trade with the Dutch and could have been persuaded without much difficulty to go down the St. Lawrence for French goods. By 1633, however, Champlain had abandoned his policy of conciliation and was determined to subjugate the Iroquois in order to obtain peace on the St. Lawrence.<sup>80</sup>

Meanwhile the Mohawk supply of beaver and wampum had become depleted so they hit upon the expedient of raiding the St. Lawrence and Ottawa valleys to despoil Huron flotillas of their cargoes of fur. To meet this situation, Montmagny began to arm Christian Algonkin and Montagnais in the late 1630's<sup>81</sup> and the Hurons in 1640,<sup>82</sup> but he did not proceed quickly enough to give them adequate protection against Iroquois ambushes. At the same time, he negotiated with the Iroquois for peace although refusing to accede to their demand for guns.<sup>83</sup> Since the Mohawk commanded the route to Huronia, they tried to dictate terms but Montmagny demurred. They therefore continued to harry the territories of French allies until 1645 when in desperation Montmagny persuaded all parties to conclude peace.<sup>84</sup> This lifted the blockade of the St. Lawrence but did not end the war in which the upper Iroquois were engaged against the Hurons.<sup>85</sup>

The effect of Iroquois depredations on French trade is hard

<sup>76</sup>Van Rensselaer Bowier MSS, 169-70.

<sup>77</sup>NYCD, I, 150-1; *Narratives of New Netherland*, 273-84.

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*, 274; *Jesuit relations*, XXII, 269; NYCD, I, 150.

<sup>79</sup>*Narratives of New Netherland*, 139, 148, 150.

<sup>80</sup>Champlain, *Works*, VI, 376, 378-9.

<sup>81</sup>*Jesuit relations*, XVIII, 157, 159, XXI, 67.

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid.*, XX, 219-21.

<sup>83</sup>*Ibid.*, XXI, 37, 53.

<sup>84</sup>*Ibid.*, XXVII, 247 ff., XXVIII, 291-303.

<sup>85</sup>Yet Montmagny forbade trade in firearms with either Christian or non-Christian Indians in July, 1644, and thus crippled the Huron defence against raids by the Seneca. See *Ordonnances, commissions des gouverneurs*, I, 5-6.

to estimate. By 1626 the French had built up an inland trade of 12,000 to 15,000 skins a year.<sup>86</sup> By 1645 the receipt of 20,000 skins was considered to be a very satisfactory seasonal return.<sup>87</sup> From New Netherland the West India Company received over 7,000 beaver in 1626<sup>88</sup> and nearly 15,000 beaver in 1635.<sup>89</sup> In the latter year 8,000 skins was considered to be a good return from the company's trade in the upper Hudson valley.<sup>90</sup> By 1645 the total volume of Dutch trade probably approximated, if it did not exceed, that of the French. Neither the company nor the patroon did much business in the north after 1639<sup>91</sup> but free traders carried away 3,000 to 4,000 furs from that region in 1643.<sup>92</sup> Evidently the beaver trade diverted from the French was going to private individuals among the Dutch.

The real threat to French trade was presented by the Mohawk. If there had been any interruption of the Dutch supply of brandy which fired their ambition and of guns which enhanced their military prowess, the Iroquois might have been drawn into trade with the French. This contingency did not arise and so they continued their associations with the New Netherlanders. Montmagny at least seems to have been fully aware of the danger to French trade of Mohawk hostility, yet he prevented his own allies from attacking the Dutch<sup>93</sup> and thus from curtailing the supply of firearms which the Dutch made available to the Mohawk. Van Curler and Kieft, on the other hand, tried unsuccessfully to ransom the Jesuit, Jogues, who was held captive by the Iroquois. They finally managed to procure his escape and return to France but even if they had so desired they could not have demanded his release. By 1643 the New Netherlanders themselves were in the power of the Iroquois because they did not dare to incur their anger by provocative requests. The "heretic trade" in guns and brandy was continued in ensuing decades thus enabling the Iroquois to encompass the ruin and dispersal of many northern tribes and to threaten the very existence of the struggling colony on the St. Lawrence.

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<sup>86</sup> *Jesuit relations*, IV, 207.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, XXVII, 85.

<sup>88</sup> *NYCD*, I, 37; *Narratives of New Netherland*, 82, n. 2, 83.

<sup>89</sup> Brodhead, *History of the state of New York*, I, 268-9.

<sup>90</sup> *Van Rensselaer Bowier MSS*, 334.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 483, 546, 663.

<sup>92</sup> "Arent van Curler and his historic letter to the patroon" ed. A. J. F. van Laer, *Yearbook of the Dutch Settlers Society of Albany*, III (1927-8), 29.

<sup>93</sup> *Jesuit relations*, XXV, 49.

## MATERIAL RELATING TO QUEBEC IN THE GAGE AND AMHERST PAPERS<sup>1</sup>

THE boundary line between Canada and the United States has provided, for several decades, a temptation too strong to be resisted by historians. It has induced them to treat the histories of the two countries as distinct and separate narratives, ignoring rather than forgetting the facts that economically the story is one story and politically it is either less or more than two. In our generation we have (unless we flatter ourselves) gone a long way towards overcoming this temptation. Recent historical writing is apt to view America as a whole and to place the histories of its political divisions in their continental setting. This necessarily involves mutual exploitation of the historical resources of the several countries. Every summer sees at least a few American scholars reading in the Public Archives of Canada. More reluctantly Canadian students are beginning to realize what treasure lies for them south of the border. Not the least valuable of these deposits, nor the least accessible to Canadians, is the William L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor, Michigan.

A score or more of years ago Mr. Clements, a manufacturer of Bay City, chose for his avocation the collecting of manuscripts and printed materials dealing with that period of American history when the boundary line referred to in the preceding paragraph did not exist, as an international border, at all—the period between the two Treaties of Paris of 1763 and 1783. By successive additions this collection, meanwhile presented to the University of Michigan and handsomely housed there, has become one of the richest in the country in manuscripts dealing with the American Revolution. It is especially wealthy in manuscripts of English statesmen and military folk who played a prominent part in American affairs. This may be shown simply by naming some of the series of manuscripts: *Shelburne papers*, *Knox papers*, *Wilkes papers*, *Clinton papers*, *Wedderburn papers*, *Germain papers*, *Vaughan papers*, *Gage and Amherst papers*. It is with the *Gage* and *Amherst papers* that this article is concerned.

Thomas Gage was military governor of the district of Montreal from 1760 to 1763. He commanded the northern military district for some months in 1763. In the same year he succeeded General

<sup>1</sup>I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Randolph G. Adams, director of the William L. Clements Library, and to Mr. Howard H. Peckham, curator of manuscripts, for their assistance in the preparation of this article.

Amherst as commander-in-chief of all his majesty's forces in North America, and held that position until 1775.<sup>2</sup> He was thus, for twelve years, the only important official resident in America exercising any jurisdiction over the whole British area. He was held chiefly responsible for the peace and good government of the wide district in the west outside the jurisdiction of colonial governors. Within the colonies he commanded the troops. In precedence he out-ranked the governors themselves. Professor Clarence Carter, who has examined Gage's papers more thoroughly than any other person, has expressed the opinion that Gage may be considered to have been a "governor-general in fact, if not in name".<sup>3</sup> It is an opinion which, perhaps, will stand further examination. It is possible to exaggerate Gage's influence on the course of events, just as it is possible to exaggerate the importance of his papers to historians, but he was in a better position than any other person to learn what was going on in the country as a whole. He was a man of good common sense and balanced mind, though without any particular political genius. He had meticulous habits of business and employed secretaries whose methods of preserving his papers are a joy to historians. Considering these facts, and the number and variety of the people with whom he corresponded, it becomes apparent that his papers cannot be disregarded by students wishing a thorough knowledge of the period. Let us see what the nature of his correspondence was.

Gage's letters fall into two chief categories, those to and from correspondents in England, and those to and from military subordinates, governors, and other officials in America. The English letters, known in the Clements Library as the *English series*,<sup>4</sup> are to a large extent already in print, well indexed and edited, with an amazing array of cross- and other references, by Mr. Carter.<sup>5</sup> It cannot be pretended that there is anything

<sup>2</sup>Haldimand commanded during Gage's leave of absence from June 23, 1773, to May, 1774. The "fresh commission" mentioned in the reference books as having been issued to Gage in 1775 was actually sent him simultaneously with his recall, to facilitate devolution of command (William L. Clements Library, *Gage papers, English series*, Dartmouth to Gage, Aug. 2, 1775, printed in C. E. Carter, *The correspondence of General Thomas Gage*, New Haven, 1931-3, II, 202). Gage sailed for England early in October.

<sup>3</sup>"Notes on the Lord Gage collection of manuscripts" (*Mississippi valley historical review*, XV, March, 1929, 511-9). See the same author's "The significance of the military office in America, 1763-1775" (*American historical review*, XXVIII, April, 1923, 475-88), and *Correspondence of General Gage*.

<sup>4</sup>*Gage papers, English series*. The series is already mounted and bound in thirty volumes. The arrangement is strictly chronological.

<sup>5</sup>Carter, *Correspondence of General Gage*. The volumes contain eastbound and westbound correspondence with the secretaries of state, and selected eastbound letters to the secretaries at war, secretaries of the treasury, and other officials.



startling or sensational in these two bulky volumes, but they do present, better than any other collection of contemporary documents, the American political scene before the revolution, from the point of view of a British official.

In considering the second series of papers—the American correspondence<sup>6</sup>—it will be necessary to confine ourselves to letters written to or by persons in the province of Quebec, as it existed prior to the Quebec Act. The excuse for this inconsistency with what has been said about the indivisibility of American history must be that the *Gage papers* are very numerous, amounting to over 20,000 pieces. Quebec letters alone number perhaps 2,000, and documents bearing indirectly upon Quebec, especially those dealing with the posts in the upper country (Canadian after 1775), are several times as numerous.<sup>7</sup> It will be years before they can all be digested. Meanwhile students of Quebec history may be interested in a summary account of papers directly affecting that province.

Gage's most important correspondents in Quebec were the officers commanding the northern military district (commonly spoken of as the brigadiers)<sup>8</sup> and the civil governors.<sup>9</sup> It was an obligation upon officers commanding regiments and posts, not only to make routine returns to the brigadier but to report to him any unusual happenings in their neighbourhoods which affected the military situation. This information the brigadier digested

<sup>6</sup>*Gage papers, American series.* Subsequent citations are to this series, unless otherwise stated. The series is now in process of mounting. The arrangement will be chronological. There is, however, an inventory arranged on a basis partly official, partly geographical, an alphabetical card index of correspondents, and a chronological card index of documents. Generally speaking, outbound letters are office copies, inbound letters originals.

<sup>7</sup>A rough estimate, based solely on the inventory, indicates that there are perhaps 1,200 letters to and from Nova Scotia (chiefly Halifax and Louisbourg). Purchased with the *Gage papers* is a small collection not yet sorted, but bearing the temporary title *Admiral Sir Peter Warren papers*. It includes original account-books of expenditures on the fortifications of Louisbourg, 1745-6, and other business papers there, some papers on prize cargoes, a letter-book of "Joint letters by Admiral Warren and General Pepperrell at Louisbourg. To be entered in the admiral's letter-book" (Dec. 14, 1745, to May 17, 1746), as well as letters from Warren's London agents and personal correspondence and household accounts.

<sup>8</sup>These were, after Gage, Ralph Burton (1763-6), Eyre Massey (1766), Carleton (1766-70), Augustine Prevost (1770-1), Valentine Jones (1771-4), and Carleton again. Jones and Carleton were stationed at Quebec, the others at Montreal. Strictly, only Burton and Carleton were brigadier-generals, the others being lieutenant-colonels who temporarily added the northern command to their regimental duties.

<sup>9</sup>During the first year or so of Gage's command-in-chief, military government prevailed in Canada, Burton commanding at Montreal, Haldimand at Three Rivers, and Murray at Quebec. The letters between Gage and Haldimand will be familiar to those who have used Haldimand's papers in the British Museum, *Additional manuscripts*, or their transcripts in the Public Archives of Canada, *Series B.* Cf. *Report on Canadian Archives, 1884* (Ottawa, 1885).



and passed on to the commander-in-chief. "Monthly returns" (in modern parlance "parade states"), returns of arms, requests for and proceedings of courts martial, and a variety of routine reports passed through the same channel.<sup>10</sup> Business concerning promotions (usually, of course, by purchase), exchanges, leaves of absence, and retirements on half pay seem to have reached Gage both directly from regimental commanders and through the brigadier. Most of this routine material possesses little general interest, though it is a mine of information for the regimental historian, the antiquarian, and the genealogist. The brigadier himself originated business concerning the movement of troops, usually awaiting the sanction of the commander-in-chief before actually shifting them.<sup>11</sup> Upon him devolved the troublesome business of manning and provisioning the posts in the upper country and supervising the commanders there in their relations with the traders. The papers in this connection are valuable for historians both of Canadian trade and of the interior country.

This sort of thing makes up the bulk of the brigadiers' correspondence with Gage. Of more general interest, and certainly more entertaining, are the letters which reveal something of the social and political conditions of the province. There were, at one time or another during this period, at least four feuds running their distinct but inter-related courses in Quebec. There were private and regimental quarrels between regimental officers. There was a crusade waged by Murray, civil governor of the province and military governor of the fortress of Quebec, against brigadier Burton and all who took orders from that officer. There was factional strife between the politicians of Murray's party and those of Carleton's (who was both governor and brigadier). And, most serious, there was the feud between certain merchants of Montreal and the soldiery of that garrison. The purely military troubles were pretty well settled by the removal from the province of the two regiments chiefly concerned, the 52nd and the remark-

<sup>10</sup>Routine returns are not now usually found with the *Gage papers*. Strangers to military routine in the eighteenth century will be helped by E. E. Curtis, *The organization of the British army in the American Revolution* (New Haven, 1926).

<sup>11</sup>Among military papers of general interest in the brigadiers' correspondence are letters between Burton and Gage respecting the raising of a regiment of Canadian volunteers for the war against Pontiac. These should be read with the correspondence on the same subject in the Public Archives of Canada, *Murray papers*, and with the *History of the organization . . . of the military . . . forces of Canada* (Ottawa, 1919). There are also letters in which Prevost and Carleton point out to Gage that Quebec, as a fortress, was undefendable (Prevost to Gage, March 30, 1771; Carleton to Gage, April 12, 1769). Carleton's letter was a reply to one in which Gage outlined the strategy to be followed in event of a French war (Feb. 13, 1769).

ably ill-disciplined 28th, but not until the Quebec garrison had become "more noted for broils than any other in America", and every second officer in it had been at least threatened with a court martial. *Murray v. Burton* ended with the recall of both contestants. Civil politics became somewhat quieter after Murray's surrender of the governorship. The dispute between the civil and the military reached its climax in the celebrated assassination of Magistrate Walker's ear. Of these matters we already knew much.<sup>12</sup> From Gage's letters we learn many more details and incidentally get a very vivid picture of the times.<sup>13</sup> The major mystery—who borrowed part of Walker's ear?—remains unsolved.<sup>14</sup> In general it may be said that Murray's reputation would not be improved by the publication of these letters, while Burton's probably would. Gage seems to have behaved very sensibly, using his authority to restore military discipline and bring military offenders to justice,<sup>15</sup> while scrupulously refraining (except upon one occasion)<sup>16</sup> from interfering in the civil affairs of the province.

Gage's correspondence with the civil governors is more bulky than important. The multiplicity of letters—there are perhaps four hundred of them—is due chiefly to the fact that each governor was also a military person.<sup>17</sup> Murray's letters arise, for the most

<sup>12</sup>The best general account of the period is A. L. Burt, *The old province of Quebec* (Minneapolis, 1933). More detailed statements are the same author's "The mystery of Walker's ear" (CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, III, Sept., 1922, 233-55), and S. M. Scott, "Civil and military authority in Canada, 1764-1766" (*ibid.*, IX, June, 1928, 117-33). Cf. *The trial of Daniel Disney* (Quebec, 1767). A letter from Burton to Gage of Jan. 31, 1764, discusses local politics at some length.

<sup>13</sup>For the garrison "broils" see especially Burton's and Jones's letters to Gage. Actually misplaced enclosures, but probably eventually to be found in their chronological order, are copies of letters to Burton from Jones, April 5, 6, and 26, 1766, from Browne, misdated May 4, 1766, from Heathcote, April 17, 1766, from Martin, April 6, 1766, and from Cole, April 28, 1766.

<sup>14</sup>Papers concerning Walker are too numerous to be cited. They occur in Burton's, Massey's, and Jones's letters and in great numbers in Carleton's, and, of course, in the replies thereto. Other letters are Gage to Browne, July 30 and Sept. 9, 1765, Feb. 7, 1766, Hey to Gage, March 1, 1768, reply March 21, Carleton to Massey (misplaced enclosure), Nov. 11, 1766, Gage to Walker, July 24, 1766.

<sup>15</sup>Though he certainly acted to prevent the officers of the 28th being recalled for trial from New Jersey (Chief Justice Smyth of New Jersey to Gage, Dec. 4, 1766, reply Dec. 6, Gage to Governor Franklin, Nov. 24 and Dec. 6, 1766, Gage to Sir John St. Clair, Nov. 24 and Dec. 6, 1766, and April 17, 1767, replies Nov. 27 and Dec. 1, 1766). Gage both talked and wrote to Governor Moore of New York, but I can find no letters.

<sup>16</sup>When Chief Justice Hey refused to bail Disney and other prisoners accused of the "assassination", Gage lost his temper, scolded Carleton, and urged him to grant bail himself, citing opinions of New York lawyers on the subject. See especially his letter to Carleton of Dec. 22, 1766. He eventually apologized for interfering in civil affairs.

<sup>17</sup>The sequence is: Murray (1764-6), Irving (1766), Carleton (1766-70), Cramahé (1770-4), and Carleton again. Irving commanded the 15th and Cramahé was judge-advocate for North America.

part, out of his jealous regard for his own military prerogatives, which more than occasionally he allowed to impede the king's business. Gage, after patiently enduring a good deal, finally lost his temper and wrote pretty crisply respecting the reluctance of the civil officers to co-operate in the provisioning of the posts in the upper country.<sup>18</sup> Irving and Cramahé seem to have had nothing of much consequence to communicate to the commander-in-chief.<sup>19</sup> Carleton's numerous letters—it will be remembered that he was also brigadier—deal mostly with military routine. His comments on political strife in the province are infrequent. When they occur they are couched in the same self-righteous style as characterized his English despatches. Respecting general policy towards Canadian affairs his views are consistent with those he expressed to the secretary of state. Gage once or twice manifests his agreement with him,<sup>20</sup> but more from politeness than from any desire to influence the course of events. The letters of 1774-5 deal with the revolutionary troubles, and here Carleton's views and plans are again consistent with those expressed in better-known papers.

These letters to and from the brigadiers and the civil governors comprise the greater part of the Quebec correspondence. But there are also letters, varying in numbers from one to scores, to dozens of other persons residing or stationed in the province. The deputy-quarter-masters-general at Montreal were immediately responsible not only for a variety of matters within the province, but for the provisioning of the upper posts; the correspondence with the officers who held this appointment will be useful to those interested in the history of ship-building on the lakes, transportation, and communication.<sup>21</sup> There are letters to

<sup>18</sup>Nov. 11, 1765. There is also a sharp letter dated Oct. 20. This correspondence is largely duplicated in Public Archives of Canada, *Murray papers*. Cf. *Report of the work of the Archives branch for the year 1912* (Ottawa, 1913).

<sup>19</sup>Cramahé wrote some letters about the Detroit murderer Dué and the Niagara murderer Ramsay of value to those interested in extra-provincial jurisdiction under the Mutiny Acts.

<sup>20</sup>"I have always felt that no measure could be worse timed, or more hurtfull in its consequences, than that of introducing our laws into Canada, without any favorable clause for our new subjects . . . their being excluded from all posts of honor and proffit . . . puts it out of the power of government to conciliate and attach them to our interest. I heartily wish you may be able to procure some mitigation in their favor" (May 7, 1769).

<sup>21</sup>See chiefly the correspondence with Christie, Maxwell, and Carden. Gage was a good deal perturbed about the methods of enforcing the regulations to trade, and suggested that if the military post at Michilimackinac was not useful for that purpose it should be abandoned. He asked Massey to take the sense of the Montreal merchants on the subject. Massey sent him a paper signed with thirty-two Canadian and twenty-four English names desiring the continuance of the post, describing this as the virtually unanimous opinion of the meeting. The original is enclosed in Massey to Gage, Aug. 17, 1766.

barrack-masters, paymasters, commissaries of provisions, commissaries for supplying money to the forces, engineers, surveyors, and other military or semi-military persons. There is a widely scattered correspondence arising out of Gage's belief that Canadian-grown wheat was inferior to European and should not be sent to the posts.<sup>22</sup> Here and there are observations about the St. Maurice forges, mining on Lake Superior, the shipping of peltry to France, and other matters of interest to the economist. One of the very few detailed accounts we have of a criminal trial in the Quebec courts of this period appears in a letter from the senior colonel of the Quebec garrison.<sup>23</sup> To Claus, the Indian agent especially concerned with Canada, there are but few letters and these unimportant, but there are a great many to and from Sir William Johnson, Indian superintendent for the Northern district, some of which will be new to students of Indian history.<sup>24</sup>

So much for the letters. As yet unsorted are a good many papers and some note-books dealing with the financial and accounting side of the army. These include: estimates of establishments, lists of bills of exchange and cancelled bills, vouchers, accounts of particular offices and officers, regimental statements, warrants for particular expenditures such as repairs of fortifications, contracts with commissaries of various sorts. The regimental historian, or the patient investigator who would know the nature and costs of military works will find these useful.

It has been mentioned that for three years during the military régime Gage was military governor of the district of Montreal. There are, in the *Gage papers*, a few original letters written from Canada during this period. More important are two volumes, in contemporary binding, of Gage's letter-books from Montreal.<sup>25</sup> They contain copies of letters to the secretary of state and the board of trade (formal ones, these), and to Gage's military sub-

<sup>22</sup>Mostly with Goldfrap, Murray, Massey, and Colin Drummond. Enclosed in Massey to Gage, Aug. 17, 1766, are original certificates from Canadian and English merchants and millers setting forth that Canadian wheat stood up as well as southern or European and had always been used for the posts.

<sup>23</sup>Jones to Gage, Sept. 8 and Dec. 27, 1766. The trial is that of the drummers and officers of the 52nd for the alleged flogging to death of the soldier MacKenzie.

<sup>24</sup>Some of the exchanges with Johnson are printed in James Sullivan and A. C. Flick (eds.), *The papers of Sir William Johnson* (Albany, 1921-8). Some are cited there from the *Calendar of the Sir William Johnson manuscripts in the New York State Library* (Albany, 1909), as having been destroyed by fire either before or after transcription. Some are not mentioned at all. To and from Guy Johnson, after 1774, are about forty letters.

<sup>25</sup>The dates are from Aug. 21, 1761, to Oct. 24, 1763. There is also a volume of letters from Oswego between August and November, 1759, and one containing letters from winter quarters at Albany between January and April, 1759, and again between December, 1759, and May, 1760.

ordinates, but mostly to General Amherst, then commander-in-chief. These last deal usually with military matters, but there is occasional political gossip.<sup>26</sup>

There came with the *Gage papers* more than eighty maps or plans, nearly all manuscript. Perhaps half of them directly concern Canada. There are two of the environs of Montreal and one of Quebec, several showing connections between the St. Lawrence and the south, and a large number of detailed maps or charts of whole or parts of the St. Lawrence.<sup>27</sup> A dozen or so maps represent one post or another in the upper country.<sup>28</sup>

Purchased with the *Gage papers*, but now bound and classified separately is a collection entitled *Amherst papers*.<sup>29</sup> These are such documents appertaining to General Amherst's tenure of the command-in-chief as fell into Gage's hands. There are two portfolios and seven volumes. One portfolio contains copies of the capitulation of Canada, reports of the board of trade, and other well-known documents. The other contains memoranda left by Amherst for Gage and a schedule of papers handed over to the new commander-in-chief. Three bound volumes comprise the papers mentioned in the schedule—those relating to Canada are familiar ones. The remaining four volumes contain originals or copies of letters<sup>30</sup> between Amherst and various correspondents, especially his subordinate officers. The later documents include a good many letters from Gladwin and other post commanders and contain much information about the war against Pontiac.

<sup>26</sup>The most considerable political document, Gage's letter to Amherst of March 20, 1762, is printed in Adam Shortt and A. G. Doughty (eds.), *Documents relating to the constitutional history of Canada, 1759-1791* (Ottawa, 1918), 91. Some interesting letters are those of Feb. 11, 1763, respecting Canadian views on the permanence of the conquest; Oct. 12 and Nov. 17, 1762, about customs duties at Montreal and Quebec; Oct. 12, 1763, expressing Gage's views on French-born priests. The legal and constitutional historian will be interested in exchanges respecting the constitutionality of the military courts, July 19 and 31, Sept. 8 and Oct. 12, 1763. Amherst's reply is in the *Amherst papers*, Aug. 20, 1763. See also in the *Gage papers, American series*, Christie to Gage, Oct. 10 and Nov. 15, 1763, and compare *ibid.*, Christie to Gage, Sept. 18, 1765, March 18, 1766, and reply Oct. 20, 1765, and Burton to Gage, Oct. 11, 1764, and reply Oct. 26.

<sup>27</sup>These include Davis's map of the route of the army from Lake Ontario to Montreal (showing Major Rogers's route to Niagara) and a map of the seven dangerous rapids of the St. Lawrence which may have been used in 1760.

<sup>28</sup>Holland's 1767 map of Cape Breton (drawn by Sproule) is here, two plans of Louisbourg, two of Fort St. John's, Newfoundland, and Marr's 1764 map of the River St. John (New Brunswick).

<sup>29</sup>Not to be confused with the sometimes so-called *Amherst papers* (*W.O. 34*) in the Public Record Office. Mr. J. C. Long has deposited in the Clements Library a typed copy of the inventory of *W.O. 34*.

<sup>30</sup>The arrangement is chronological. They run parallel to Amherst's journal for those years and should be read with J. C. Webster, *The journal of Jeffery Amherst* (Toronto, [1931]). The dates are from Dec. 20, 1758, to Jan. 1, 1764.

But most of the letters are from Amherst to Gage, especially during the time that Gage commanded at Montreal.<sup>31</sup> They thus provide the answers to the south-bound letters in the letter-books in the *Gage papers*. Taken together, the two form a very useful series for Canadian students, the more so as Amherst's letters are long and outspoken, and contain snatches of gossip from England.

Some notion will be gathered, even from so summary and restricted a survey as this, of the value of General Gage's papers. They are not likely to lead to many material changes in our general views of American history, but they do provide useful material for the genealogist and the antiquarian. For the military historian, and especially for the writer on military administration (a field in which much remains to be done), they are invaluable. There are, indeed, few students, in whatever aspect of the period they may be interested, who will not find here some grist for their mills. And finally, as has been said, this varied collection constitutes the best composite picture we have of the political scene on the eve of the revolution.

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<sup>31</sup>There is but one letter from Murray (Dec. 4, 1763), and one from Burton (Nov. 29, 1763).

## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES<sup>1</sup>

FROM August 28 to September 4, 1938, the eighth International Congress of Historical Sciences held its meetings at Zurich. Although it had been rather drastically shorn of the splendour of official receptions, which made the congresses at Oslo and Warsaw so pleasant a memory, it would be ungracious not to pay tribute to the charming hospitality of many of our Swiss hosts. To report on the papers presented in the fifteen sections into which the congress was divided—and there were nearly three hundred papers in all—would be not only impossible, but indescribably tedious, for while there were a few of outstanding merit, the general standard seemed little better than that of previous congresses, though on this occasion definite measures had been taken beforehand to weed out poor or unsuitable material. On the other hand, after attending three of these congresses, as the representative of the Canadian Historical Association and of the Canadian Archives, I feel very strongly that the time has come for some consideration of their value and of the way in which their business is conducted.

These congresses, which are held every five years, are organized under the auspices of the International Committee of Historical Sciences whose membership now includes nearly fifty countries of which Canada is one. At Zurich three new states were admitted—China, the Vatican state, and Ireland, and it is interesting to note that in the case of Ireland the request for membership was supported by the two governments of that country acting together.

The International Committee functions mainly through a considerable number of standing committees most of which carry on very valuable work in providing materials for, and in generally facilitating the business of historical research. Whether, however, the quinquennial congress merits the same praise, whether its continuance along its present lines is really worth the labour and expense involved, are questions that give rise to very considerable doubt. At any rate, the criticisms which the recent

<sup>1</sup>This comment on the International Congress of Historical Sciences has been written by Professor E. R. Adair of McGill University who attended the meetings of the congress in Oslo in 1928 and Warsaw in 1933 as well as the meeting this last summer in Zurich. A note on the work of the International Committee of Historical Sciences was printed in our issue of June, 1936, p. 222. [EDITOR]



congress at Zurich evoke and which are here presented as an expression of opinion, ought, I believe, to receive careful consideration from the governing board before the next congress meets five years hence at Rome.

Let us examine the most general problem first of all: does the congress serve any useful end? In answering this question there are two aspects of the matter to be considered, the social and the intellectual. The congress is supposed to foster international friendship and co-operation among historical scholars by bringing them into personal contact with one another; and, secondly, it is supposed to spread and clarify historical knowledge, by the presentation of papers and their intelligent discussion. Neither of these objects was very satisfactorily achieved. The omission at Zurich of the numerous and often extremely interesting official receptions and entertainments which have been such a feature of previous congresses was decidedly unfortunate. They have in the past not only conferred a prestige and dignity upon the congress and by reflexion, upon its members, but they have also provided admirable opportunities for a loosening of that academic austerity and that professorial shyness which stands so often in the way of reasonable human intercourse; it may need several receptions to do it, but it really is possible to enter into the spirit of the thing before the meetings are over. At Zurich, most of our time was spent in surroundings so sadly reminiscent of our own halls and classrooms that we never really forgot to be professors. Moreover, it must be remembered that if this international friendship is to be created, it is necessary to bring historians together so that they can talk to one another. To achieve that end, even professors need something more attractive than the possibility of listening to three hundred learned papers; the representation, for instance, of Great Britain and the United States was much smaller than it ought to have been and that was not wholly unconnected with the fact that the programme of the congress looked appallingly dull. It is merely blinding oneself to realities, to suggest that the social side of the congress does not serve a thoroughly valuable end, for it makes attractive, it gives prestige to, and it humanizes the whole business of historical scholarship.

What of the intellectual achievement of the congress? That is open to still more drastic criticism, even though much greater care had been taken than on previous occasions. Upon the shoulders of the national committees had been placed the onerous



task of seeing that unsuitable papers were not submitted, and a real attempt had been made to group together papers dealing with similar subjects; in neither case was complete success achieved. Moreover, if there were to be any interchange of scholarship, stimulating discussion should have followed the papers, yet this was very rarely the case; when there was any discussion at all, it only too often took one of three forms: rather fulsome and painfully fictitious eulogies upon the reader of the paper, a very confidential quarrel staged by two members from the floor of the meeting, or an over-lengthy speech from some gentleman who was using this opportunity of presenting what was really a little paper of his own upon some more or less related topic.

It is, indeed, full time that the committee which organizes these congresses, gives real thought to the question as to whether the reading of this quinquennial stream of learned papers serves any very useful end; or at least, whether this ought to be the sole form in which the work of the congress is to be presented. The fairly common American expedient of the round table has, certainly, not always been a success, usually because sufficient care had not been taken in making the necessary preparations for it, but it does afford great possibilities. In various fields of history, I could think offhand of a dozen controversial subjects upon each of which four scholars could be found who would disagree with one another with vigour and with eloquence. At least one meeting of this nature in each section of the congress would put a little life into what too often proved a very somnolent audience, and it might even lead the readers of the papers to wonder if there were not really a great deal to be said upon both sides of the question. If, however, the reading of the papers is to continue, and I am not suggesting that it should be wholly abolished, certain matters should receive the attention of the organizing committee. In the first place, a really serious attempt must be made to see that the readers of papers keep reasonably within the time allotted to them. So far at these congresses they have rarely done so, with rather disastrous results: the audience gets very fidgety; it is almost impossible to estimate the proper time at which to arrive in order to hear the paper in which you are interested; and very real injustice is done to those scholars whose papers have to be hastily compressed into the end of the day's programme. The remedies for this state of affairs are obvious and should be applied. For example, though the number

of papers to be read at each session has been reduced, this reduction might be carried further: five is definitely too many, four or even three are ample if the papers are any good and if there is to be any real discussion. Secondly, and this is most important, far greater care should be taken to secure competent chairmen and it should be seen that they know what their powers and their duties are and that they carry them out. At the worst, chairmen at Zurich made futile and unnecessary speeches and so added to the tedium; in most cases they sat like disinterested spectators and let the meeting pursue its own tortuous way. That they were there to enforce any rules or regulations seems to have dawned on very few of the elderly gentlemen who presided and yet they, by virtue of their seniority in the world of scholarship, ought to have been the very persons who could have performed these duties with the minimum of friction. Thirdly,—and this is of equal importance—the organizing committee must insist that papers really are prepared and read, and that speakers be not permitted to replace them by over-lengthy and impassioned orations. Possibly such speakers did not realize how long they had been talking and how much unnecessary verbiage they had indulged in, but, had they been forced first of all to embalm their thoughts in the cold written word, a little more decent restraint might have been exercised. It might even be desirable to insist that papers be submitted before they are actually read, either to the appropriate national committee, or to a central international committee specially appointed for that purpose.

Most admirable was the attempt made at the Zurich conference to show on a central indicator what papers were actually being read and what had been cancelled: it is to be hoped that this will be continued in future. So also the principle of placing upon the shoulders of the national committees the business of selecting the best papers from among those that their countrymen desired to present is deserving of every praise; it will be most disastrous if the old system of a vague and chaotic censorship is reverted to; indeed, it might be suggested that the national committees be encouraged to be even more severe in their judgments and that they should not allow themselves to be hypnotized by a mere name or a high academic title. What an audience of such historical scholarship as attends these conferences has a right to expect are papers embodying either the fruits of individual research, or a synthesis of recent historical progress delivered by an acknowledged master in that particular subject; general

popular addresses have no place there. Before leaving the question of papers and speeches, it might be desirable to suggest that the manner in which the opening meeting is organized does nothing but cast a gloom over the whole proceedings. It is very pleasant to be welcomed, but no audience wants to be welcomed by speaker after speaker and in speeches far too long to be endurable, for all that each of them has to convey could be put into half a dozen sentences. Either the organizing committee should adopt a much firmer attitude in insisting on the limitation of each speech to a few minutes, or better still, it should secure that one distinguished man, holding an official position of importance in the state, should be entrusted with the duty of voicing that welcome that various sections of the community desire to express.

To come now to the administrative organization of the congress. For the Zurich congress the organizing committee was lamentably dilatory in providing such information as might reasonably be expected by persons who were hoping to be able to attend, and when the information did come, it was inclined to be very scanty. It might be well to remember that professors are not always at their home addresses during June, July, and August and that, in the case of a meeting planned so far in advance, they have the right to receive earlier and fuller information. The committee appears to have entirely neglected to provide credentials for those universities and other learned bodies which were expected to send delegates, as had been done for previous congresses. Even the national representatives drifted casually into the assembly and no one appeared to know who had a right to be there and who had not. After all it is worth while managing the affairs of a distinguished international body with at least as much dignity as is to be found in an ordinary shareholders' meeting.

The assembly itself was a complete farce: there was no agenda of business to be transacted, though this did not matter very much because it was obviously not intended to transact any business of importance. The secretary-general's report consisted of a very long and rambling speech which contained a good deal of matter of such interest as to deserve discussion. There was no real discussion at all, because the delegates obviously had not been given the chance to consider these matters before attending the meeting or were unable to survive the flood of unrelated facts that was poured upon them. The least that should be done would be to see that the report on the work of the International Com-

mittee was printed or mimeographed and placed in the delegates' hands before the meeting; then a proper opportunity could be given for a discussion of each of its sections. There is no question of discussing the minute details of action taken by the committee since the previous meeting of the assembly, but surely a body such as this should be encouraged to examine and criticize the general principles underlying the policy the executive has been pursuing and to pass upon new lines of policy before they are put into action.

There is also room for criticism in regard to the arrangements made for housing the members attending the congress. It is very doubtful whether just putting the matter into the hands of two large travel-agencies is a satisfactory method. Possibly a Zuricher was exaggerating when he said that the hotel-keepers in the town would have faced a very disastrous season had it not been for the congresses that had been held there, but when one compared the prices quoted officially by the congress authorities with those ordinarily charged by the hotels, one had an uneasy feeling that the congress was maintaining Zurich hotel-keepers, rather than Zurich entertaining the congress. This difficulty is not peculiar to the international congress, for it is not unknown in connection with the annual meetings of some learned societies on this continent and one cannot but feel that when the presence of such a society means that hotels which would otherwise be half-empty, have a certainty that nearly every room will be filled, it is the duty of the executive officers of that society to see at least that prices are not raised above normal, and ordinary business common sense should dictate that they would be in a position to arrange even more favourable terms. At Oslo and at Warsaw the situation was very pleasantly met by the provision of accommodation for such as desired it in university buildings that were not run for profit. Nothing of this sort, and very little in the way of suggesting that cheaper lodgings could be found, was done at Zurich. This is really a serious matter, not only since even professors come to dislike the feeling that they are being unnecessarily exploited, but also because it makes it very difficult for junior members of the academic world to attend at all; and they are the very people whose presence is most to be desired, if the enthusiasm and vitality of the congress are to be maintained.

There is one final question which the governing body will have to face. In his closing address to the congress, the new president, Mr. Waldo Leland of Washington referred to the importance of

liberty in the intellectual life; it was unfortunate that in the press reports, either as the result of accident or of discretion, the word "liberty" was transformed into "dignity". Five years hence at the invitation conveyed by Signor Volpe, the senior Italian delegate, we are to meet in Rome. It is exceedingly important that immediate steps should be taken to discover the extent to which the congress is to enjoy in Italy that intellectual liberty which is absolutely necessary to its continued existence as an impartial and scholarly body. I am not suggesting that papers should be presented attacking the fascist régime; that would be an uncalled for, as well as an unwise discourtesy to the country that is our host. But I do feel that certain questions should be put and answered in sufficient time to permit of the changing of the place selected for the next congress if the answers prove unsatisfactory. I wish to know whether there is to be complete freedom of speech in the meetings of the congress and what is to be the attitude of the fascist government towards the free admission of individual historians to Italy: will historians of Jewish birth be permitted to attend? will exiled German historians be permitted to attend? will exiled Italian historians be permitted to attend? It may be suggested that the last is too much to be expected from any government. This I do not believe: Signor Mussolini has shown that he is anxious to demonstrate his real adherence to the demands of art and of scholarship; he is also a believer in the value of splendid gestures—and he could make no more splendid gesture than to wave aside political animosity during the brief period of a great historical congress. No one would expect that the Italian press would report the work of those who were in the opposite party, but nothing could better establish in the eyes of the world the reality of Signor Mussolini's belief in the importance of intellectual progress and of honest scholarship than the sight of a body of distinguished historians pursuing their labours, untrammelled and in freedom within the sacred and imperial walls of Rome.

I may have seemed unduly critical of the conduct of the congress, but I believe that I am voicing not only my own views, but those of a good many others who attended the Zurich congress. I feel convinced that the bureau and the organizing committee for the next congress will not only feel grateful for having these difficulties called to their attention, but that they will also do their utmost to eliminate such grounds for complaint in the future.

E. R. ADAIR

McGill University.

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A LETTER FROM ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE ON THE CANADIAN  
REBELLION OF 1837

WHEN, on December 22, 1837, the news of the Canadian rebellion reached London, the clerk of the privy council was a young journalist named Henry Reeve. Appointed to this post only the previous month, he was perhaps less absorbed in his clerical duties than in his literary activities. Chief among these was his translation of Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, the first part of which he had published in 1835, and on the second part of which he was at the moment engaged.

The news from Canada appears to have roused all Reeve's journalistic instincts. Tocqueville, with whom he was in familiar correspondence, was an acknowledged authority on conditions across the Atlantic. His impressions of the situation in Canada would be of particular value in the present case. Reeve immediately suggested to Lansdowne, the president of the council, that Tocqueville should be asked for his views.

Lansdowne replied with guarded approval. "Doubtless any statement of Tocqueville's views on the present aspect of Canadian affairs if it can be procured will be valuable, considering how peculiarly qualified he is from his position and character to act the part of an impartial observer." With a cautious speculation about the advisability of making such a statement public, he concluded: "There is certainly no authority, which I should quote if the occasion arose with greater confidence in debate if permitted to do so."

Apparently, however, Reeve had not waited for Lansdowne's response. Lansdowne's letter is dated January 2; Tocqueville writes on January 3 the letter which is printed below. It can hardly have been the letter that Reeve hoped for. Tocqueville explains certain reasons for his restraint; and there are others, left unexplained, which might well have moved him to caution in so delicate a situation.

The truth is that the value of Tocqueville's impressions was limited, not merely by the six years which had elapsed since he left America, but also by the brevity of his visit to Canada and the narrow range of his Canadian experience. In his excellent study, *Tocqueville and Beaumont in America* (Oxford, 1938), George Wilson Pierson quotes a number of revealing passages from Tocqueville's letters and diary on this part of his American tour. Tocqueville spent only the ten days from August 24 to September

2, 1831, in Lower Canada, nearly all of them in Quebec and its vicinity. Upper Canada he never visited, and with the English of Lower Canada his contacts were almost negligible. He had an interesting interview with John Neilson, but he never met Papineau, or indeed any other leader of the French majority. And it is clear from these passages that his investigation for once was far from objective. His delighted surprise at the completely French character of the province roused him to patriotic dreams of a national revival in the new world. In spite of the assurances he met with that the French were on the whole reconciled to British rule, he probed eagerly for signs of any aspirations toward political independence, and hopefully recorded evidences of antagonism toward the English population and the prospects of a coming struggle. Yet he had to admit that these prospects were inconclusive. On the one hand, it seemed to him that "if within the next few years the English race does not prodigiously increase its immigration and succeed in confining the French in the area which they today occupy, the two peoples will find themselves face to face". But in summing up his impressions he wrote: "We arrive at the moment of crisis. If the Canadians do not come out of their apathy within twenty years, it will be too late."

The letter to Reeve offers a general summary of these earlier impressions, clarified and perhaps further idealized by the lapse of time. This letter and that of Lansdowne to Reeve are at present in the possession of the University of Toronto Library. There is also in the library a copybook with Reeve's bookplate, in which are entered copies of the correspondence between Reeve and Tocqueville, chiefly relating to Reeve's work as Tocqueville's translator. A number of these letters were published in the *Correspondence* of 1860, and the inference is that the copies were made at the time when all the originals were handed over to Tocqueville's editors. The letter printed below, however, was apparently retained, and was not copied, but was found lying loose between the pages of the copybook itself.

EDGAR MCINNIS

The University of Toronto.

[Compiègne]

Beaujy [?] ce 3 janvier, 1838

Je vien de recevoir, mon cher ami, votre lettre. J'ai bien réfléchi à ce que vous m'y dites et je me vois forcé, à mon grand regret, de ne pas faire ce que vous désirez. Voici mes raisons que vous approuviez sans doute.



Si je vous écrivais une lettre qui ne doit pas être publiée, le bruit ne manquerait pas de se répandre, votre position étant maintenant officielle, que j'ai fourni des renseignements sur le Canada au gouvernement anglais, ce qui serait mal interprété par bien de gens, attendu surtout que j'appartiens à la race de l'un des deux peuples qui semblait vouloir entrer ces lutte.

Je n'aurais donc pas vous envoyer qu'un article de journal, mais ici une autre ordre de difficultés se présente: à l'heure qu'il est, c'est une tâche très délicate que celle de traiter la question du Canada devant un public anglais, quand on est français. Vous comprenez cela sans que je le développe. D'une autre part, vous sentez qu'il ne me convient pas de fournir par une pareille matière des à peu près, quelques mots de ces notions vagues et généraux qui peuvent rendre une lettre intéressante, mais qui ne sauraient suffire à un article signé. Or, je ne pourrais vous fournir que des notions de cette espèce, car il y a six ans passés que j'ai quitté le Canada, je n'ai fait à cette époque que l'entrevoir en quelque sorte; depuis je n'ai aperçu que de très loin ce qui s'y passait, n'y ayant pas conservé une seule correspondance, en faisant ce que vous desirez, je risquerais donc de compromettre ma position sans vous être utile.

Voilà, mon cher ami, ce qui m'empêche de satisfaire à votre demande, je me bornerai donc à vous dire d'une manière générale et de vous à moi seulement, que la situation actuelle du Canada me paraît un fait extrêmement grave qui mérite d'attirer l'attention toute particulière de vos législateurs. Les canadiens forment un peuple à part en Amérique, peuple qui a une nationalité distincte et vivace, peuple neuf et sain, dont l'origine est toute guerrière, qui a sa langue, sa religion, ses lois, ses mœurs, qui est plus agglomérée qu'aucune autre population du nouveau monde, qu'on pourra vaincre, mais non fondre par la force dans le lieu de la race anglo-américaine. Le temps seul pourrait amener ce résultat, mais non la législation ni l'épée. À l'époque de mon passage, les canadiens étaient pleins de préjugés contre les anglais qui habitaient au milieu d'eux, mais ils semblaient sincèrement attaché au gouvernement anglais qu'ils regardaient comme un arbitre désintéressé placé entre eux et cette population anglaise qu'ils redoutaient. Comment est-il arrivé qu'ils soient devenus les ennemis de la même gouvernement? Je l'ignore, mais j'ai peine à croire que l'administration coloniale n'ait pas quelques grands reproches à se faire, sinon pour le fond des choses au moins pour la forme. Cette position de l'Angleterre me paraissait singulièrement heureuse alors, à ce point que j'étais porté à croire que votre nation ne devait se garder encore la possession du Canada qu'à cette co-existence de deux peuples différents sur le même sol. S'ils n'y avaient eu que des anglais, ils n'auraient pas tenté à devenir des américains. Comment avez-vous perdu cette position particulière et favorable? Je ne le sais pas.

En résumé, mon cher ami, méfiez-vous de ce que les anglais établis au Canada et les américains des états-unis vous disent de la population canadienne. Ils ne la voyent qu'à travers d'incroyables préjugés et ils perdront le gouvernement qui ne verra lui-même que par leurs yeux. Tenez pour constant que si la guerre civile du Canada devrait jamais une lutte complète et prolongée de race à race, la colonie serait perdue pour la grande Bretagne. Les canadiens sont très inférieur à leur voisins dans l'art de produire la richesse; ce sont des commerçants et surtout des pionniers moins entreprenant qui seront tôt ou tard enveloppés et resserrés dans de certaines limites par ses hommes de race anglaise. Mais il n'en forment pas moins une peuplade énergique, susceptible d'enthousiasme, de dévouement, d'efforts violents et soudains, chez laquelle les traditions des guerres d'Amérique

existent toujours et qu'on ne forcera jamais à rester pendant long tem[p]s, malgré elle, attachés à la métropole. Le grand point est donc de la lui faire vouloir.

Telle est, mon cher ami, en gras et pour vous seul mon impression général sur la crise actuelle.

Maintenant, passons à autre chose:

J'ai lu avec un plaisir extreme votre nomination à la place que vous occupez maintenant. Elle me paraît parfaitement en rapport avec vos opinions et vos goûts. Je vous félicite donc de tout mon cœur. Je crains seulement que les affaires publiques ne m'enlèvent mon traducteur, ce dont je serais fort contrarié. Nous aurons, du reste, de tem[p]s de penser à cela, car je ne peux pas publier avant l'automne prochain. Vous voyez que je recule toujours. C'est que j'[ ] dans une de nouveau sujets d'[ ] et que l'objet grandit à mesure que je le considère. Cependant je ne dépasserai pas deux volumes.

Ma femme a été bien fâché de ne s'être pas trouvé à Paris quand Madame Reeve y est venue. Elle me charge de lui exprimer tous ses regrets. Nous sommes ici l'un et l'autre pour jusqu'à la fin de février, époque où nous retournerons, pour jusqu'au mai de juin à Paris.

Adieu, mon cher ami, mille et mille amitiés,

[signed] ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE

P.S. J'ai reçu une longue et très intéressante lettre de notre ami monsieur Atrau [?].

Je ne sais comment lui répondre par la poste sans le compromettre. Ne pourriez-vous pas m'indiquer un maquer?

[Address on the outside of the letter.]

Henry Reeve, Esqr., Privy Council Office, Downing Street, London.

#### DR. STRACHAN'S MOTIVES FOR BECOMING A LEGISLATIVE COUNCILLOR

IN Bethune's *Memoir of Bishop Strachan* we are told that Strachan, in writing to the bishop of Quebec in 1820 announcing his appointment to a seat in the legislative council, had remarked: "His Excellency [Sir Peregrine Maitland] placed me among the number, without any previous consultation".<sup>1</sup> Similarly also with regard to Strachan's earlier appointment to the executive council (1815), the same biographer wrote "that the appointment was not of his own seeking, and at first accompanied with no emolument whatever".<sup>2</sup> From Strachan's own letter book it appears, however, that his interest was by no means passive. With regard to the appointment as executive councillor, if he did not seek it, he had at any rate made it quite clear that he would not refuse the honour, for he had written on May 2, 1814, to General De Rottenburgh stating that, having been informed that

<sup>1</sup>A. N. Bethune, *Memoir of the Right Reverend John Strachan* (Toronto, 1870), 78.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 53.

he might be recommended for a seat in the executive council, and having been requested not to refuse such an appointment, he had, "after reflecting upon the matter . . . determined to acquiesce from the hope, that I might be of some use during these troublous times".<sup>3</sup> With regard to the appointment to the legislative council in 1820, the letter which is printed below<sup>4</sup> and which was written to Sir Francis Gore in 1817, has a decided interest. While it may well be true that the appointment was not preceded by consultation with Maitland, the letter makes it clear that any modesty which Strachan may have had in 1820 with regard to his claims was a newly-acquired characteristic. In writing to Gore he showed little reluctance in offering, for the good of the province, to take a seat in the upper house.

The letter has, however, a broader interest than that mentioned above. The great influence which Strachan came to wield in Upper Canada was no accident, but the result of careful calculation. His success was based on a cool analysis of the characters of his fellow men and on his own supreme self-confidence. The offer made to Gore, should he be allowed to sacrifice himself by accepting an office "attended with much trouble and no emolument", was no less than to solve the problem of governing Upper Canada by acquiring influence in both the provincial legislative bodies: in the council through his friendship with some of the members who, ignorant or perverse as they were, were at the moment being influenced by the opponents of measures on which Strachan had set his heart; in the assembly by his control over his ex-pupils, who were now in increasing numbers occupying important positions in the colony, and whose work he, as councillor, would review. Whatever one's views of John Strachan, it is difficult to withhold admiration for such comprehensive and practical statecraft.

One significant point is disclosed by Strachan's analysis of the religious faiths of the members of the legislative council: in 1817, contrary to accepted tradition,<sup>5</sup> two only were churchmen, five were Presbyterians, and one a Roman Catholic. Before 1820 the differences between the assembly and the council were at times sufficiently acute, but at least they were not aggravated by being disputes between churchmen and dissenters.

<sup>3</sup>Ontario Archives, *John Strachan's letter book, 1812-1834*, 102.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 173.

<sup>5</sup>See, for example, W. S. Wallace, *The family compact* (Toronto, 1915), 46: "from the earliest times the governing clique had been composed of members of the Church of England."

A somewhat amusing feature of Strachan's strictures upon Clarke, Dickson, Fraser, and McLean, is the fact that they were addressed to Gore, who, presumably unknown to Strachan, had himself written to Bathurst just two years previously and recommended precisely these four gentlemen "for vacancies in the legislative council of Upper Canada".<sup>6</sup>

For very many years Strachan's energies were bent particularly towards advancing the cause of the Church of England and of education—in his case this was perhaps a single purpose, for to him religion and true education were inseparable. His successful efforts to obtain the charter for King's College in 1827 are well known, but as early as 1815<sup>7</sup> he had been advocating the establishment of a college at York and a complete system of education, higher, secondary, and elementary, all under the superintendence of a general board. In 1816, when the act was passed granting the first legislative aid to common schools, it had been the government's intention at the same time to increase the efficiency of the grammar schools and to establish at York a college of sorts for training candidates for holy orders "who would have received the necessary Instruction under the direction of the zealous Loyal and Learned Minister of the Church of England, established at York, Doctor John Strachan, who, it was my intention to have placed at the head of the higher Seminary with the Distinction of Principal".<sup>8</sup> This attempt to obtain legislative support for a college failed in 1816 and apparently a similar measure was defeated in 1817.<sup>9</sup> These failures Strachan refers to in his second paragraph. The attack on the clergy sevenths on April 3 of this year—the month before Strachan's letter—is referred to in Gourlay's *Statistical account*.<sup>10</sup>

It may be added that Strachan's purpose was to bring all education in the province under the control of the Church of England:

It was my intention had the bill I proposed last winter to appropriate a Sum of money annually to assist Students in divinity passed into a law to point out the propriety of a General Inspector of Education to whom all returns shall be made such a Person the Govt might have appointed without any Salary in the first Instance to avoid Expençe. This office I should have undertaken and it might have been carried into a Precedent that the Minister of York should be Inspector.

<sup>6</sup>Public Archives of Canada, *Series Q*, vol. 319, p. 87, Gore to Bathurst, May 4, 1815.

<sup>7</sup>See his "Report on education" of Feb. 26, 1815 (*Letter book, 1812-1834*, 116).

<sup>8</sup>*Q*, vol. 320, p. 127, Gore to Bathurst, no. 19, April 14, 1816.

<sup>9</sup>This can only be surmised from Strachan's letters; the journals of the legislative council for these years are not available.

<sup>10</sup>R. Gourlay, *Statistical account of Upper Canada* (London, 1822), 291.

By this means . . . the established religion would have had a permanent influence over the Education of the people and the whole indirectly placed under the Control of the Bishop who could have advised (?) with and instructed the Inspector—The failure of the Bill rendered it inexpedient to urge the appointment at the present time—<sup>11</sup>

GEORGE W. SPRAGGE

Toronto.

York 22nd May 1817

Sir Permit me to request your Excellencys attention for a moment to the Constitution of the Legislative Council both in a religious and Political point of view—Recent events have brought this to my notice in a very forcible manner

Chief Justice Powell <sup>12</sup>	}	Of the Church of England
Col Clause [Claus]		
Col. Clarke	}	Presbyterians
Mr Willm Dickson		
Col Fraser		
Col McLean		
Honble John McGill		
Honble James Baby		a Catholic

I submit to your Excellency whether the established Church has proper weight at this board—The attack on the Clergy sevenths and the failure of the bill for educating young men for holy Orders twice in the Upper House successively indicate a necessity for strengthening the Establishment.

So long as Your Excellency remains among us there is little to fear but I need not mention the danger or at least obloquy to which the rights of the Church may be exposed should a person come to the head of the Govt with prejudices against her not that I apprehend success from any attack but her usefulness may be circumscribed.

In claiming with confidence Your Excellencys kind attention to her interests and prosperity I am only doing justice to your known attachment to that religious establishment in the bosom of which you have had the happiness to be educated.

In a Political point of view

The recent measures so obnoxious in themselves and producing so much trouble and vexation were first hatched by Legislative Members at Mr Dicksons Quarters.

Messrs Clarke and Dickson go together. It will be easy for them without a strong counteracting influence to bring Col Fraser over to their plans—he has lands to sell and is too ignorant to have much steadiness.

Col McLean is narrow in his ideas of public expence and should these Gentlemen get round him it will be next to impossible to turn him for tho' a Gentleman of high Principle and honor as far as he sees his way clearly he is at the same time obstinate to a degree of perverseness. A majority will thus be formed & should Col Talbot take his seat as he speaks of doing for I am told he has sent for his

<sup>11</sup>John Strachan's letter book, 1812-1834, 175, Strachan to the lord bishop of Quebec, Nov. 10, 1817.

<sup>12</sup>For notes on members of the legislative council, see Alison Ewart and Julia Jarvis, "The personnel of the family compact, 1791-1841" (CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, Sept., 1926, 209).

Commission he will add to their strength—The Speaker will be harrassed [*sic*] without possessing any effectual support and public business obstructed unless agreeable to their views.

Believing from many circumstances some of which do not meet the Eye that Your Excellency's departure will be the commencement of a Storm I think it my duty to offer my services. My circumstances do not enable me to relinquish the office I hold in the House but if my services can be accepted without this sacrifice I shall be happy to exert them.

The official duty which I perform does not strike me as incompatible when confined as it then ought to be to the Legislative Council for it is performed by the Bishops in England.

My motives I confess for requesting Your Excellency's favour in procuring me a situation attended with much trouble and no emolument are not altogether disinterested.

My views [interests] are from necessity confined to the Colony I have a large increasing family without any other prospects than what the Province affords, and I have at present no hope of being ever able to leave it—It is therefore my interest to cherish with all my power that attachment which I feel for my native country and to be placed in a situation to cherish it in all around me with commanding [?] efficacy.

As a Member of the Legislative Council I can secure on all proper occasions Colonels Fraser & McLean with whom I have long possessed great influence, and be able at once to afford the Speaker effectual support and I may without being accused of vanity consider myself able to combat with success the probable opposition.

With the Lower House I shall by means of my pupils possess a growing influence and the means of communication which will be much increased in having the power of deciding upon their measures.

On the whole I am confident that I can render great Service to Govt as well as the Province and I feel that the time is approaching perhaps arrived when the Church ought to have in the Legislative Council some persons liberally but judiciously alive to her Interests.

Had Your Excellency been to continue with us I should have been silent and delicacy would have prevented me from making this application had not a seat in one or both Councils been offered me by two different Administrators of the Government one of whom was removed before a reference could be made to England and the other after engaging voluntarily was prevailed upon to substitute another name on being told that Clergymen were not eligible.

I have advised with no person in making this application because I shall value the appointment as the gift of Your Excellency should your decision accord with my wishes.

I once thought of speaking on this subject to the Chief Justice who may be supposed to be interested in my favour as from my respect for his talents and knowledge of his disposition we have hitherto acted with cordiality but I saw reason to forbear. To him I can be of greater service in many things than he is at present aware especially in preserving a Communication between him & the Speaker which is in danger.

They differ on some important points which may without caution produce a breach & a mutual Friend in whom each has confidence is essential to their future cordial co-operation.

But there are matters which I could not with propriety communicate to the Chief Justice. I therefore concluded in my own mind that as I was now sufficiently known to Your Excellency it was better as well as more decorous to make the application without the intervention of a third person

I have the Honor to be  
Your Excellency  
Much Obligd & Most  
Obedt Huble Servant  
J. S.

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EGERTON RYERSON'S VIEWS ON THE GOVERNMENT OF UPPER  
CANADA IN 1836

A formal and private statement of his views by a man active in political controversy provides a document of great historical interest. In May of 1836 Egerton Ryerson deposited such a statement in the colonial office in London. During an interview with the colonial secretary concerning the affairs of the Upper Canada Academy, he had been asked by Glenelg for an opinion on the political situation in the province. With his customary energy and directness, he returned to his rooms and wrote a long and vigorous letter. He analysed the issue between the lieutenant-governor and his councillors, suggested certain immediate steps which the government should take to restore confidence, and then wrote the dispatch which he thought the colonial secretary should send to Canada disposing of the question of constitutional relations between colony and mother country.

The issue which had brought on the political crisis in the colony was Head's quarrel with his first council. The councillors, three Tories and three Reformers, had claimed the right to be consulted on all matters of provincial business. Head arbitrarily interpreted this as a demand for "responsible government", forced all the members of his council to resign, and made the occasion one for a general attack on the constitutional theories of the Reformers. The issue, though by no means clearly revealed in the events, was forced before the people of the province in ensuing elections as a straight choice between the imperial connection and republicanism. Head was triumphant for the moment, but the policy he had adopted led eventually to rebellion.

In public Ryerson gave his support to the governor, but in this letter he is unsparing in his criticism of Head's action. The



governor, he thought, was mistaken in making the issue a question of principle when "convenience and courtesy" was all that it really involved. Head should have referred the claims of his councillors to the colonial office, refused to engage in a controversy over constitutional theory, and got on with the business of administering the province. Not only does Ryerson criticize Head's strategy; his tactics also were at fault. The governor had rushed into public pronouncements "in the style of newspaper slang", and to Ryerson it appeared that "the readiness of his pen and the ardour of his mind have . . . exceeded the coolness of his judgment. . .".

The document makes clear Ryerson's view as to the principles on which a colony like Upper Canada should be governed. Men of good will, he thought, would respond to a clear and practical leadership. This leadership the governor himself must provide: he must govern with tact and energy and must not weaken his position as Head had done by involving himself in needless controversy. The admission of responsible government would, Ryerson thought, open the door wide to party strife with results of the most serious nature for the internal peace of the colony and for the connection with the mother country. He was quite unable to comprehend the eventual significance of responsible government or the new kind of imperial relationship which was to emerge, but his failure to foresee the possibilities of the future in these matters was, after all, shared by most of his contemporaries. He believed that the situation in the colonies demanded plain speaking and that a direct statement on the subject of colonial status, putting an end to all talk of responsible government, should be written by the colonial secretary. At the same time the governor, acting on the advice of men "of candour, good sense and information", and free of factional party spirit, should be instructed to adopt a generous and intelligent policy in administering the affairs of the colony. To such a course of action, he thought, the colonists would give their support.

Ryerson's letter to the colonial secretary makes clear not only his views on colonial government but also the practical sense which brought him in the end always to think in terms of measures rather than theories. Because of this quality of mind he readily gave his loyalty to Sydenham. It was the same characteristic which led him later to support Metcalfe, whom he saw as the sound administrator maintaining his freedom of action against the advances of irresponsible party faction.

Only that part of the letter which contains Ryerson's suggestion for a dispatch from the colonial office to the lieutenant-governor is published here. The earlier part contains the criticisms of Head. It embodies a detailed analysis of the governor's policy in the dispute with his councillors and for this reason will be of interest to special students of the period. The document appears in the Dominion Archives, *Series Q*, vol. 395, pt. II. The original is in the Public Record Office, London, *C.O. 42*, vol. 435.

R. G. RIDDELL

The University of Toronto.

[*Ryerson to Glenelg, 20 Guildford St., Russell Square, May 27, 1836, Private*]

I would not presume to dictate to your Lordship what should be introduced into such a dispatch; nor would I attempt to discuss the several topics which it might be supposed to embrace; but, with your Lordship's permission, I would respectfully suggest some things that I think ought not to be omitted. I know not how to offer these hints of some of the topics and *illustrations* that I think would make the strongest and best impression on the public mind in Upper Canada, better than in the form of a supposed despatch from your Lordship to Sir F. Head. Supposing your Lordship to have commenced by acknowledging the receipt of several dispatches from His Excellency, & by a reference to the proceedings of the Assembly and the present state of affairs in that Province, I think the following views and observations would be well adapted to accomplish the objects of His Majesty's Government & promote the best interest of that Country.

The subject first in order and importance, is that of the duties and powers of the Executive Council, together with the responsibility of the Executive Government of Upper Canada. In this subject is virtually involved the existence of that Province as a portion of the British Empire. To the three questions which it embraces the most serious attention has been given. 1. The duties. 2. The powers. 3. The responsibility of the Council.

As to the *duties* of the Council there is no room to doubt that the Statute 31st, George 3—C. 31 contemplated an Executive Council, as expressed in 38th clause, "for the affairs of the Province". On this point no difference of opinion exists. The inquiry arises, ought the Governor, Lt. Governor, or person administering the Government to consult this Council on the affairs of the Province generally, or only in those cases in which the Statute requires the concurrence of the Council to give effect to certain Executive Acts. The Statute 31st. Geo. 3rd, C. 31, the early instructions of His Majesty, and established usage have left this to the discretion and prudence of the Governor. It is, however, equally plain that the Governor may consult his Council on all the affairs of the Province without departing from the letter of the Statute establishing the Constitution, or from any former Instructions of the King. The question must therefore be viewed simply as a matter of courtesy, convenience or expediency. It is certainly most desirable and important that such a good and friendly understanding should exist between the Governor and the Executive Council as to enable him at all times to consult them with the utmost possible freedom & confidence, & as will induce them to offer

their advice with equal freedom and cordiality. The only objection to the Governor's consulting his Council on all occasions is the delay which may, in some instances, attend it. On the other hand many advantages are likely to arise from it; and as it seems to be desired, His Majesty is happy to have it in his power, consistently with the constitution which he is solemnly bound to maintain, to accede to the reasonable wishes of his Canadian subjects by granting this only point asked for by the late Council.

At the same time the despatches or instructions which may from time to time be communicated by His Majesty cannot of course be a matter of dissention with either the Governor or the Council, nor can he or it be responsible for them.

With respect to the *powers* of the Council, they are specifically defined in the Constitutional Statute 31 Geo. 3 c. 31. His Majesty entirely concurs in the view of Messrs. Robinson, Markland, Wells, Dunn, Baldwin and Rolph, that "every Representative of the King, upon arriving from England to assume the Government of the Province is comparatively a stranger to it; and the Law has provided for a local Council as a source of advice, which, when given, is followed or not according to his discretion." The late Council observe still further, "that while advice is given upon the affairs of the Province generally, it is only in the particular cases (specified in 31st. Geo. 3. c. 31) that it must harmonize with the pleasure of the Crown to give that pleasure effect". In this view of the duties and powers of the Executive Council His Majesty fully concurs. The Council by its advice is to aid the judgment of the Representative of the King, but not to control him, except in the case specified in the Statute referred to.

This explanation of the duties and powers of the Council lead to a natural and very obvious solution of the question relative to the *responsibility* of the Executive Government. This I have sufficiently explained in my despatch of the 15th December; and I need only add here, that, as it is agreed on all hands that the Governor alone must act upon his own judgment, after having been assisted by the advice of his Council, so he alone can be responsible for the acts of the Executive Government. The Members of the Council cannot be responsible for the acts of the Executive Government, because it is the Governor that acts, not them. Nor can they be responsible for the advice which they may give the Governor, because 1st, he is not bound by their advice; 2dly the law of the Land and their own oath prohibit their divulging that advice. Every member of the Council is also appointed by His Majesty, and holds his situation during the pleasure of the Crown. But if, at any time, any member of the Council cannot but conscientiously oppose the Acts of the Governor, he will of course resign his situation, the same as any other officer of the Crown, as I have explained at large in the 14th Section of my despatch of the 15th December.

It is with regret His Majesty observes, that some persons in Upper Canada are very active in their endeavours to excite a spirit of disaffection towards his Royal Prerogative & Government by attempting to persuade his Canadian subjects, that they should be governed by a Council, possessing compulsory power over the acts of Governor, and responsible to and removeable at the pleasure of the House of Assembly, assigning amongst other reasons that the Government of England is 4000 miles distant from Upper Canada, and is conducted through a Minister, whose official residence is in Downing Street, therefore can know little or nothing about the affairs of the Colony. The simple import of these and similar representations and appeals can be nothing else than that Upper Canada should no longer be controlled by the Crown of Great Britain. For if the Acts of the Executive

are to be controlled by a Council thus virtually appointed by the assembly, then the Government is no longer administered by the Representative of the King (though he may have the name and style of a Governor and reside in the Province,) the authority and prerogative of the Crown are annihilated, and the Province becomes an independent Republic, instead of being a British Colony. Every School boy must know, that England is not more distant from Canada now than it was forty or twenty years ago; His Majesty's wishes have always been, as they are now, communicated through a Colonial Minister from Downing Street, the same as the views and wishes of the Assembly of Upper Canada are conveyed through its speaker. And though His Majesty's Government may not be minutely acquainted with the details of every proceeding in Upper Canada, yet it can always judge of the principles involved in every proceeding, as to their danger or safety, their agreement or disagreement with the British Constitution. The reasoning employed by some restless and inconsiderate individuals in Upper Canada, in support of self or independent government would lead to separation between Great Britain and all her Colonies. The 31st Geo. 3. c. 31 which created the Provincial Legislature has specifically defined its duties and powers. That Act does not confer upon the House of Assembly the power of removing any officers of Government; nor can it possess such a power consistently with the relation of a Colony of Great Britain. And whilst His Majesty will always most fully recognize and protect the privileges of the Assembly to the utmost possible extent, and bestow the earliest & most careful attention to its addresses on every subject or on the conduct of any public officers, He is bound equally by his duty & his oath to maintain the prerogative of the Crown and the Authority and Privileges of the Imperial Parliament.

It has indeed been said that the House of Assembly ought to possess the same powers with the British House of Commons. Such an assumption, however, is not made in the Representation of the late Council. I must observe on this subject, that the powers of the House of Assembly are both created and limited by an express Act of Parliament; this is not the case in regard to the House of Commons, and it is impossible in the nature of a colonial dependence or relation that a *Colonial* Legislature can possess the Sovereign or undefined power of an Imperial Parliament. The local Legislature has all the powers of the Imperial Parliament by the Statute 31st Geo. 3. c. 31 "to make laws for the peace, welfare and good government" of the province, "such laws not being repugnant to that Act". The "very transcript and image of the British Constitution" is given by this Imperial Statute, with those limitations only which are inseparable from the Colonial relation. The assumption to the Provincial Legislature of all the powers of a sovereign Parliament is unknown in law or usage in any British Colony, and is of novel date even in Upper Canada. To that class of persons, therefore, who advocate, I am willing to believe unconsciously, an *independent* government, under the name of a "responsible government" His Majesty commands me to oppose his unqualified negative. I need only refer you to my despatch of the 15th December, where I have shown that the administration of affairs in Canada is by no means exempt from the control of a sufficient practical responsibility, and that His Majesty is most desirous to maintain that responsibility to the fullest extent, according to the principles and usages of the British Constitution. His Majesty confidently trusts to the good sense, pledged & long-tried loyalty of His Canadian Subjects for the maintenance of that authority and those constitutional prerogatives to which they have so often expressed their devoted attachment and which

He only wishes, as he is in duty bound, to exercise for the welfare of all classes of His subjects.

The attention of His Majesty's Government is again invited to the Constitution of the Legislative Council. Between the views expressed in the Colony on this subject and that of the Executive Council, there is this marked and essential difference, that in case of the Executive Council the Constitution is professedly advocated & maintained, but in respect to the Legislative Council it is proposed to alter and entirely subvert one of the vital principles of the Constitution. It is not difficult for any person who chooses to deal in abstract principles of political theory, to employ plausible reasoning and make popular appeals for or against almost any form or constitution of Government. In Upper Canada the form of Government has long since been settled to the perfect & frequently expressed satisfaction of all parties for a period of more than forty years. It cannot therefore be considered a legitimate subject of popular agitation by any person who is well affected to the civil compact between Great Britain & that Colony. Nevertheless His Majesty was unwilling to entirely close the door against any complaints which any class of his subjects might urge against even the Constitution of a co-ordinate branch of the Legislature; but after a careful examination & full consideration of all that has been, & probably can be urged on this subject, His Majesty is only strengthened & confirmed in his previous convictions of sacred duty to adhere to the solemn pledges which he has so repeatedly given to maintain the well balanced Constitution of the Colony inviolate. In doing so His Majesty feels assured that He will best consult the real interests & happiness of his Canadian subjects, as well as maintain the integrity of vested rights and the undisputed prerogatives of the Crown. No evils are complained of, which will not admit of an equally effectual & safer remedy than that of altering a vital principle of the Government.

One objection made & strongly insisted upon against the present constitution of the Legislative Council is, that it has rejected many bills sent up by the vote of a majority of the Assembly & has thereby retarded the improvement of the country. On this objection it may be observed, 1. That the simple circumstance of a bill being passed by a majority of the Assembly is not a sufficient proof that it is calculated to promote the general interests of the Province; one branch of the Legislature is liable to error as well as another; a bill may promote only particular interests at the expense of others equally important and claiming equal protection; or it may only advance the favourite theories or objects of some leading member or members of the Assembly; or, though the object of a bill may be unobjectionable, yet the bill itself may, perhaps unnecessarily, embrace principles which cannot be recognized without infringing constitutional prerogatives and usages. 2. Party feelings (such as have unhappily existed in Upper Canada for some time past) may have influenced both the House of Assembly and Legislative Council, even at the expense of the general welfare in some instances, to press the exercise of their respective powers to extreme lengths. This, however, cannot be fairly urged as an objection against the Constitution of the one body, any more than against that of the other. The evil can only be remedied by an improved spirit of mutual forbearance and public consideration. 3. The Legislative Council is composed of gentlemen who, at least in a majority of instances, have an equal commercial, agricultural and public interest in the prosperity of the Colony with the members of the Assembly, and therefore, cannot, upon any conceivable ground, be supposed to have an interest in opposing the improvement & prosperity of the Country. I may also remark that it is at all times in the power of His Majesty to add to the

Legislative Council, from time to time, such gentlemen as possess the requisite intelligence & respectability of character and are known to have a large stake in the welfare of the Province.

It has also been objected to the Constitution of the Legislative Council that it bears no analogy to the British House of Lords, & therefore does not answer the purpose for which it was originally created. It would not be difficult to show that there is as strong an analogy between the Legislative Council and the British House of Lords, as there is between the Canadian Assembly and the British House of Commons. The strongest advocate of change in the Constitution of the Legislative Council might be confidently appealed to, as to whether the number of members already appointed to the Legislative Council is not much larger in proportion to the number of Members in the Assembly and the population of Upper Canada, than the number of members of the British House of Lords in proportion to those of the House of Commons and the population of these Realms, and whether the wealth and intelligence of the Legislative Council in comparison of that of the House of Assembly and the province are not equal to that of the House of Lords when compared with the wealth and intelligence of the House of Commons and of the United Kingdom.

I am therefore commanded by His Majesty to reiterate on this vitally important subject the views which were expressed in the Royal instructions to the Canada Commissioners, dated July 17th 1835, in the extract which you have already laid before the Assembly, that the most weighty considerations of expediency as well as solemn pledges often repeated, require Him to resist all such innovations upon the established form and constitution of Government, and to transmit it unimpaired to posterity, as the Representatives of the Canadian people themselves have, for forty years and upwards, desired.

Two plausible arguments have been urged upon the attention of His Majesty as well as upon that of the Canadian public, in justification of a change in the constitution of the Colony, which require a brief notice: The one is, that the Statute 31st, Geo. 3. c. 31 commonly called the Constitutional Act, is nothing more than an act of Parliament, and is therefore as debateable and as subject to repeal as any other Act of Parliament. It is true the Statute referred to is only an Act of Parliament & may be repealed; and so are the charters which secure the privilege of trial by jury and the elective franchise Acts of Parliament, yet they are rightly considered sacred & immoveable pillars in the fabric of the British Constitution. And it should never be forgotten that the Statute 31st Geo. 3. c. 31 differs from all other Acts of Parliament relative to Canada, in that it creates the Canadian Legislature, and forms the basis of compact or union between the Colony and the parent state; compact solemnly ratified by the pledged faith of His Majesty on the one side, and the sworn allegiance of the Canadian people on the other side.

The other argument popularly employed by the advocates of innovations upon the colonial constitution of Government is, that a change has been made in the British Constitution by the Act of Parliamentary Reform, and therefore a change may be rightly demanded in the Constitution of Canada. This reasoning seems to have been introduced and employed with little consideration & in the excitement of party feelings. No changes in the internal government of Great Britain can alter or disannul the articles of compact which exist between His Majesty and his Colonies. It may also be observed, whatever has been or may be said by party writers on the subject, that the great measure of Parliamentary

Reform infringed no prerogative of the Crown; it proposed no change in the Constitution of the House of Lords; but it gave to the British nation a more ample and equal representation in the House of Commons. The Act of Parliamentary Reform, therefore, no more changed the British Constitution of King, Lords & Commons, than the recent Act of the Provincial Legislature, which gave the County of York four Representatives in the Assembly instead of two, changed the Constitution of the Colony.

Having thus fully explained the views which His Majesty entertained relative to the important subjects of the Executive & Legislative Council and the Constitution of the Province, I am commanded to express His Majesty's deep regret that misunderstandings so embarrassing to the transaction of the public business should have occurred amongst the Members of the Local Executive, and He trusts that the Instructions contained in this despatch will serve entirely to reconcile the differences of opinion which have interrupted the harmony which at one time existed between you and your late Council. His Majesty is most anxious that the confidential advisers of His Representative should be persons acceptable to his Canadian subjects and their Representatives, as well as faithful to their Sovereign. But popular influence alone is by no means a sufficient qualification or recommendation for such a situation of trust and confidence. As the Council was created to aid His Majesty's Representative to advance the general interests of the Province, irrespective of party considerations it is most desirable that the persons who may be called to that honourable situation should be such as are least likely to be biassed in their judgment by the feelings of partizanship—who are as little as possible connected with rival parties—gentlemen of candour, good sense and information, desirous of promoting the peace, harmony, improvement & prosperity of the country.

It affords His Majesty pleasure to observe that, notwithstanding the impediments which local broils and contentions have opposed to the best interests of the Province, the wealth, commerce, and internal improvements of agriculture & navigation in that most western of his North American Possessions, exceed those of any western territory in America of the same age, population and extent. The whole revenue of the province is trivial in comparison of the money which His Majesty, with the consent of His Parliament, has, within a few years past, expended in Canada for objects purely local. But he laments to observe that latterly so much of this public attention, and so much time and resources allotted to purposes of legislation for the improvement of the country, should have been directed to the agitation of theoretical questions, which must obviously tend to distract and demoralize the popular mind, and which can never be realized under the British Constitution. In a state of public unsettledness, the commercial and public credit of the Province must be materially injured; the agricultural interests must also suffer in an equal degree with the commercial; general improvements are thereby impeded, the value of property is depreciated; emigrants, whose industry and capital should contribute to cultivate and enrich the country are deterred from entering it; the social happiness is interrupted, and, in many instances, is destroyed. It is the anxious desire of His Majesty that such untoward circumstances may no longer defeat or retard his best endeavours to advance the prosperity of Upper Canada; and whilst he will always be prompted no less by his inclination than by his pledged faith and the compact between Him & his colonies, to protect his Canadian subjects in the full enjoyment of all their constitutional rights & privileges, he relies upon their fidelity to the same compact & their Christian and



patriotic attachment to His Royal Person & Government for the maintenance of the Constitutional prerogative of the Crown.

You are directed to make this Despatch public, and to call the early attention of the local legislature to it at its next Session; for His Majesty cannot allow himself to believe that the present Representatives of the people of Upper Canada, any more than the Inhabitants themselves, will, after mature consideration and this full explanation of the most important subjects which have been agitated in the Province, be inclined to usurp unconstitutional powers to themselves, or resist the lawful exercise of the Royal Prerogative.

My Lord,

If there be any allusions to disputes or persons in the province to which your Lordship thinks a Royal dispatch ought not to descend—or other questionable sentiments or references—I will be happy, at any time that it may be convenient to your Lordship, to state my reasons for suggesting them & the bearing they will be likely to have on the affairs of the Province

The Right	}	I have the honor to be My Lord, Your Lordship's most obed <sup>t</sup> humble serv <sup>t</sup>
Honbl		
The Lord		
Glenelg, &c. &c &c		

EGERTON RYERSON

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### SOME RECENT BOOKS ON THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

- A History of American History.* By MICHAEL KRAUS. New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 1937. Pp. x, 607. (\$3.75)
- The Marcus W. Jernegan Essays in American Historiography by his Former Students at the University of Chicago.* Edited by WILLIAM T. HUTCHINSON. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1937. Pp. x, 417. (\$4.00)
- The Early Writings of Frederick Jackson Turner.* With a list of all his works compiled by EVERETT E. EDWARDS. Introduction by FULMER MOOD. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 316. (\$3.50)
- Francis Parkman: Representative Selections, with Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes.* By WILBUR L. SCHRAMM. New York: American Book Company. 1938. Pp. cxliv, 498. (\$1.25)
- Bibliographies in American History: Guide to Materials for Research.* By HENRY PUTNEY BEERS. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. 1938. Pp. 339. (\$3.50)
- A History of Chicago.* By BESSIE LOUISE PIERCE. Vol. I: *The Beginning of a City, 1673-1848.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1937. Pp. xxii, 455, xxxi. (\$5.00)
- History of the State of New York.* Edited by ALEXANDER C. FLICK. In ten vols. Published under the auspices of the New York State Historical Association. Vol. IX: *Mind and Spirit.* Vol. X: *The Empire State.* New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. xvi, 390; xii, 484. (\$5.00 per vol.; \$50.00 the set.)
- The American Civil War.* By CARL RUSSELL FISH. Edited by WILLIAM ERNEST SMITH. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company. 1937. Pp. xi, 531. (\$4.00)
- A History of American Political Thought from the Civil War to the World War.* By EDWARD R. LEWIS. New York: The Macmillan Company [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada]. 1937. Pp. x, 561. (\$5.00)
- Roosevelt to Roosevelt: The United States in the Twentieth Century.* By DWIGHT LOWELL DUMOND. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1937. Pp. x, 585. (\$2.60)

"AMERICAN history", wrote Professor G. P. Gooch, "came of age with Bancroft", and it has therefore a comparatively long, as well as a very notable, record of accomplishment. In professional training American historians as a group can compare well with any in the world, while in point of numbers, financial resources, and breadth of interests they are now in the forefront among those countries where history has not yet suffered the unhappy fate of falling under the dictation of the state. The first four books listed above may be recommended to anyone interested in the development of historical writing in the United States. They do not provide a full treatment of the theme but they do touch on some aspects of it in an authoritative way.

Mr. Kraus's volume is the most inclusive, beginning with the Norse sagas and coming down to the work of recent scholars some of them still living. The book is concerned with the writings on the history of the United States rather than with American historians, men like Motley and Prescott being mentioned only incidentally. For the most part the method is biographical, concise descriptions being given of the careers and writings of well on to one hundred his-

torians. Parkman is given a chapter, while there are others such as Thwaites, Turner, and Alvord whose names are of importance to Canadian students. The treatment is uneven—of necessity the amount of space given to individuals must vary but one wonders sometimes what principle Mr. Kraus had in mind in allotting his space and in choosing names for special treatment. Van Tyne, for example, seems to merit, in comparison with some others, more than the incidental references given to him. Comparable to Mr. Kraus's book in breadth of interest is the volume of essays presented to Professor Jernegan, who himself made some fine contributions to the history of the thirteen colonies. It contains twenty-one essays on American historians beginning with George Bancroft. The essays are for the most part analytical, balanced, and well written (Canadian readers will be especially interested in that on Parkman by Mr. Smith), and on the whole the treatment of the writers chosen is more satisfying than that given by Mr. Kraus—a difference explained in part no doubt by the greater restriction in space under which Mr. Kraus worked.

The volume on Turner contains a chapter on Turner's early career as a scholar, a complete bibliography of his writings, an extensive list of references on his life and work, and four of his early essays including the famous essay on the significance of the frontier in American history. Mr. Schramm's book on Parkman is similar in a way to that on Turner since it contains selections from his works and an extensive bibliography, as well as an introduction of over one hundred pages. It is doubly valuable, however, in that it places its estimate of Parkman against the background of the economic and intellectual tendencies of his time. The introduction contains an excellent analysis of Parkman's ideas and varied activities, of his views on historical writing, and of his merits and limitations as an historian. Parkman's reputation, as Mr. Schramm makes clear, needs at this date no unqualified eulogy, but authorities seem agreed that on the roll of American historians few names equal his—perhaps indeed none stands higher. For Canadians it is a point of interest that until the Great War, at least, no single circumstance demonstrated the importance and interest of Canadian history so effectively as the fact that Parkman had achieved his great reputation through his writing on New France.

One cannot but be struck with the emphasis given to Turner's influence in contemporary discussions of American historical writing. There has in recent years been a re-appraisal of the Turner thesis with a disposition to correct the extremes to which some of its enthusiastic exponents had gone, but the importance of Turner remains, and historians are still frequently judged by the degree to which they appear to have been affected by Turner's influence. I have no disposition to quarrel with this, or with the emphasis of American historians on social and economic developments, an emphasis which has brought results of great value, and which is not, of course, due solely to Turner; but one wonders whether the pendulum is not likely to swing back a little in the near future. Constitutional history, for example, has been practically excluded from the attention of American historians and has been left to lawyers and political scientists who have frequently had little or nothing of historical training in the broad sense. This kind of abdication on the part of historians is a disservice not only to the general student but to those specialists whose particular interests expose them to the dangers of an excessive legalism.

One other general observation may be made. The biographical method of treating the history of American history has its merits, but there is room for a

treatment of the subject which will analyse the varied influences which have lain behind American historical scholarship, and also will describe the methods and the contributions of the numerous agencies which contribute not only to research but to the purveying of "history" to the masses of the American people.

Mr. Beer's volume lists 7,692 bibliographies on American history, economics, and closely allied subjects; a large number of which bear directly on Canada. There is an elaborate author and subject index. On page 306, "Canada tariff 2901" should be "2911", and "Canals, New York 6917" should be "6918", but in spite of finding these within the first five minutes of examination I still believe that the index is almost as impeccable as Caesar's wife. The usefulness of Mr. Beers's book needs no demonstration. It should be in every library that makes any pretensions to a special interest in American history.

The remaining books on the list are varied in their subject-matter but have some common interest in that they are much concerned with social, economic, and cultural trends, with attitudes of mind and tendencies in public opinion. The two volumes on New York bring to an end the excellent series which has already been described in reviews in this journal. Volume IX is entirely concerned with religious and cultural developments, chapters being given to education, libraries, scientific interests, journalism, the theatre, art, and the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish religious groups. Volume X has chapters on industry and labour since the Civil War and on miscellaneous subjects including medicine, sports, and place-names, as well as a consolidated index for the ten volumes. The development of New York touches that of central Canada at so many points and the similarities and contrasts are so numerous that these volumes cannot but interest Canadian students. Miss Pierce's volume on Chicago merits attention here for similar reasons. The importance of Chicago for the western and great lakes regions has given it intimate contacts with Canada throughout its history. This is the first of four volumes which are being prepared under the auspices of the social science research committee of the University of Chicago and which will contain the results of a detailed study of the city in its manifold aspects. Miss Pierce has written excellent chapters on the early history of the area, the development of trade, industry, and finance, government and politics, social and cultural trends, habits of thought and attitudes of mind. The series should provide an admirable example of the lines along which an intensive study of a large modern city with its diverse groups may proceed.

The late Professor Fish's volume on the Civil War is a synthesis based on very wide research. It is without foot-note references but contains a lengthy annotated bibliography. The book has not been written for the general reader but anyone who has given some attention to the Civil War will read it and return to it with interest and profit. The author does not indulge in sweeping generalizations but he has a clear organization based on an obvious mastery of a great mass of detail some of it of an unusual type and he delivers many shrewd judgments and opinions. To Lincoln he gives a place of the highest importance, the tribute being paid in an analysis and description which lose nothing from their restraint.

Mr. Lewis's volume in matter and point of interest follows naturally on that of Mr. Fish. Beginning with a chapter on the war amendments and the nationalization of civil rights, it goes on to discuss the constitutional decisions and influence of the courts, the nature of the union and the theory of sovereignty, and finally the chief tendencies of thought lying behind political action after the Civil War. In his broad survey Mr. Lewis puts individuals and political movements against

the background of conflicting interests and attitudes—conservative, progressive, radical. The contest for the control and regulation of the new industrialism is clearly described not only in a review of legislation and court decisions but in a sympathetic analysis of leaders like Bryan, Roosevelt, and Wilson. Mr. Lewis has written a scholarly and thought-provoking book.

Professor Dumond's book overlaps that of Mr. Lewis, beginning with the opening of the century and coming down to the election of 1936. It is written in a different tone, and apparently in part at least with the general text-book reader in mind, but it is concerned to a considerable extent with the same theme of conflict between individual freedom and political control which occupies a prominent place in Mr. Lewis's book. Mr. Dumond has given more than a factual account. He leaves no doubt of his liberal leanings and does not hesitate to take to task, for example, such organizations as the Daughters of the American Revolution and the American Legion. The treatment of President Roosevelt's policy is sympathetic but not unqualified in its approval. Foreign affairs do not receive as careful a treatment as domestic. Relations with Canada could not, of course, be expected to occupy a large place, but they might have received some attention if for no other reason than the very significant growth of American investments north of the border. The reference to the Alaska boundary dispute (p. 299) is so inadequate and misleading that it might better have been omitted. Mr. Dumond's book is, however, in spite of some ground for criticism, an interesting illustration of the commendable efforts which are being made by American historians to treat the history of the United States during the last forty years with independence of judgment and in a form that will challenge the attention of the general reader.

GEORGE W. BROWN

The University of Toronto.

*The Constitution of Canada, 1534-1937: An Introduction to its Development, Law and Custom.* By W. P. M. KENNEDY. Ed. 2. London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xxx, 628. (\$5.00)

THE first edition of this distinguished and authoritative work appeared in 1922. The purpose of the present edition is to treat certain developments which have taken place since then, or have at any rate become more apparent. Altogether the added matter runs to 106 pages, comprising chapters xxvi to xxix of the new edition, as well as two appendices. While all these are of great interest to students of government and public law, the first two chapters dealing respectively with "Tendencies in Canadian administration" and "Aspects of constitutional law and custom" and appendix I on "The Canadian new deal" are outstanding for purposes of comparison with American ideas and institutions.

In both the United States and Great Britain there has been in recent years considerable to-do over the growing practice of delegated legislation. To those who believe this practice vicious and one which should be abated, Professor Kennedy's pages will bring scant reassurance. He writes: "The inference to be drawn from such delegation of authority is that the legislature does not know what remedy to apply to the new problems that have arisen, and legislators prefer the flexibility of the 'trial and error' method found in the experimental laboratory to the rigidity of legislative enactment." At the same time Professor Kennedy recognizes that "the fundamental principle inherent in the democracy of the Anglo-Saxon peoples is the control exercised by the people through repre-

sentative institutions over those who wield power and authority in the State" (p. 469); and he asks, "What, then, is to be done? What is being done?" The tendency in the United States has been to answer questions like these by emphasizing judicial review, but in Canada judicial review of administrative orders rests upon an extremely precarious basis. Yet even were it otherwise, Mr. Kennedy is right in assuming that the real remedy must be sought in the administrative process itself; and in this connection he instances the "growing tendency in Canada to set up advisory committees of various sorts to consult with the government in relation to the issue of any suggested regulation" as being of special importance, as constituting indeed "the most progressive advance so far made in Canada in developing new institutions to supplement the work of legislation". "Such institutions are", he adds, "essentially an extension of the democratic principle" (p. 472). The reviewer heartily applauds these words, even while he is compelled to admit that the tendency of the American bar to regard the judiciary as the one truly representative institution of government—as witness certain decisions of the late New York state constitutional convention—affords little ground for hoping that their instruction will reach American ears.

Of less interest on practical grounds, though immensely so on theoretical, is Mr. Kennedy's suggested comparison, in his chapter on "Constitutional law and custom" and his appendix on "The Canadian new deal", between the course which interpretation of the British North America Act has taken at the hands of the privy council and that which interpretation of the United States constitution has taken at the hands of the supreme court at Washington. The basis for such a comparison is evident. Both these documents are the fundamental laws of great federations; both are amendable only with great difficulty, though for different reasons; both are finally interpreted for many and important purposes by judicial process. On the other hand, there is also a significant divergence between the two instruments. The framers of the American constitution aimed to create a central government of specified, but *supreme*, powers, leaving the residual powers of government to the states, while the framers of the Canadian constitution attempted almost the reverse of this, setting up a central government of indefinite powers but reserving certain powers to the provinces *exclusively*. Nor can there be any question that the latter instrument was intended by its authors, who wrought with the lessons of the American Civil War before them, to mark a considerable advance upon the constitution of 1787 from the point of view of centralization. And yet, as Mr. Kennedy plainly shows, the American constitution is to-day the more adequate vehicle of national power. Why? His answer is that the American supreme court, following the lead early imparted it by Chief Justice Marshall, has interpreted the United States constitution according to principles properly applicable to such a document (see pp. 494 and 530), whereas the judicial committee of the privy council has from the first treated the British North America Act as a mere statute, thus permitting its origin to obscure and defeat its essential purpose.

That the author is justified in his criticism of the privy council—or rather of its judicial committee—I am not prepared to deny. His compliment to the supreme court at Washington, on the other hand, seems to me somewhat excessive. Throughout the hundred years following Marshall's death, except for certain short intervals, the court's interpretation of the constitution of 1787 had gone to narrow rather than to enlarge some of the most important powers of the American national government. Furthermore, it is something of a vindication of the privy

council to point out that this result has been achieved in part by treating certain of the residual powers of the states as *exclusive*, which is just what certain powers of the Canadian provinces are by the explicit terms of the British North America Act. In other words, it has been the court's endeavour, when it has been localistically inclined, to do what the explicit provisions of the British North America Act did for the privy council from the outset!

Also, I think I detect an element of inconsistency in Mr. Kennedy's attitude toward the privy council's interpretative achievement. He charges the council with promulgating a too restrictive version of dominion powers, yet he accepts this version as something which may be corrected only by formal constitutional amendment; and the ground upon which he rests his pessimistic conclusion is deference to the principle of *stare decisis*. Yet, if we are to judge from the history of the United States supreme court's work in the field of constitutional interpretation, the one thing which most definitely demarcates it from ordinary law interpretation is the slight operation of *stare decisis* upon the former. The logic, in short, of the distinction between principles of *constitutional* interpretation and of *statutory* interpretation is rejection of the claim of *stare decisis* to appear among the former.

But, I can imagine the author objecting, this is to vest the judicial interpreters of the constitution with constituent functions (see p. 494). Exactly so; we have found in the United States that the ultimate interpreting authority of a nearly unamendable constitution must necessarily assume constituent functions and the high responsibility that goes with them.

In chapter xxviii, on "The Statute of Westminster", are indicated some of the logical anomalies of Canada's present status among the nations of the world. Under the terms of the Statute of Westminster she is virtually an independent state, but the statute itself is the enactment of the sovereign legislature of another state. Professor Kennedy gives a wide berth to the theoretical speculations which this situation invites. "One thing", he says, "is clear, without equivocation and reserve: any attempt by the parliament of the United Kingdom to legislate for Canada, or to tamper with the Statute of Westminster, apart from a request from and with the consent of Canada, would simply mean a declaration of independence. Legal principles, if such indeed exist, must yield to social facts, if the very situation of dissolution which the champions of Austin's creed would undoubtedly desire to avoid is for the future to be prevented. Imperial legislative sovereignty and imperial unity will not work harmoniously in harness together." This is certainly good sense, even though it hardly meets the logical craving. As to the latter, the suggestion is perhaps pertinent that the Statute of Westminster *gives* Canada nothing, but only recognizes an accomplished fact—the dominion's already achieved maturity and consequent sovereignty, things of which there can never be mere donations from one community to another.

Altogether, Professor Kennedy's new chapters match his old ones for interest and instruction.

EDWARD S. CORWIN

Princeton University.

*Les Cahiers des Dix*. Numéro 2. Montréal (Drummondville, P.Q.: La Parole). 1937. Pp. 313.

TEN of the most distinguished students of Canadian history in French Canada have banded themselves together to bring out an annual volume of historical essays; and the present volume is the second they have published.



It is a somewhat mixed grill. M. Ægidius Fauteux, the editor of the volume, discourses in his usual charming and scholarly way on "Les aventures de Chevalier de Beauchêne": he comes to the conclusion that the hero of Le Sage's *Aventures de Robert Chevalier dit Beauchêne* was an actual person who was born in Montreal in 1686, but that he did not enjoy the piratical life attributed to him in Le Sage's tale. M. Victor Morin, who is now the president of the Royal Society of Canada, has a valuable paper on "Les origines de la Société royale", in which he makes use of hitherto unused and unknown documents. Mgr Olivier Maurault, the rector of the University of Montreal, recounts, under the heading "Une révolution collégiale à Montréal il y a cent ans", an early episode in the history of the "Collège de Montréal". M. Pierre-Georges Roy, the archivist of the province of Quebec, writes on "Les légendes canadiennes", giving summaries of over a score of them. M. Aristide Beaugrand-Champagne contributes an ethnological study of "Le peuple d'Hochelaga". M. E.-Z. Massicotte, the archivist of the Old Court House in Montreal, who knows more about early Montreal than anyone else, has a series of notes or brief essays on "Coins historiques du Montréal d'autrefois", illustrated with maps and drawings. M. Francis-J. Audet, of the Public Archives of Canada, throws new light on "Les débuts du barreau de la province de Québec"; M. Montarville Boucher de La Bruère elucidates some of the hitherto unstressed aspects of the life of "Pierre Boucher", one of the most interesting figures in the history of New France; and M. Gérard Malchelosse gives an account of the history of "Deux régiments suisses au Canada", the Meuron and Watteville regiments.

There is not one of these papers that does not add something to our knowledge of Canadian history. They all embody the results of original research; and they are individually admirable. But, taken collectively, they present a most miscellaneous appearance; and one may be permitted perhaps to question the wisdom of bringing together such excellent, but diverse, essays in a single volume. If these papers had been published in the transactions of learned societies or in other well-known periodicals, they would have been noted in at least some of the various periodical indexes, both under author and under subject; but, in their present form, it is to be feared that they will be buried. Few libraries have cataloguing staffs equal to the task of "analysing" such volumes as *Les Cahiers des Dix*; and it is doubtful if the papers in this volume will be adequately indexed even in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, although the reviewer has been careful to cite the exact title of each paper.

At the same time, it must be confessed that the present volume is an impressive evidence of the vigour of historical studies in the province of Quebec.

W. S. WALLACE

The University of Toronto Library.

*The Faithful Mohawks.* By JOHN WOLFE LYDEKKER. With a foreword by the Rt. Hon. Lord TWEEDSMUIR. Cambridge: At the University Press [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada]. 1938. Pp. xvi, 206. (\$4.00)

THE title of this book tells little about the contents. A subtitle "The history and significance of the S.P.G. missions among the Mohawks, 1704-1807" might well have been added. This work presents hitherto unpublished and unused letters preserved in the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel with sufficient connecting narrative, based largely on well-known secondary sources and printed New York documents, to make the letters intelligible. The account,

after a few pages on the origin of the S.P.G., begins with the arrival of the first S.P.G. missionary, the Rev. Thoroughgood Moore, at Albany in 1704 and, after dealing with the development of the missions on the Mohawk river, William Johnson's campaigns, the Revolutionary War, and the settling of the Mohawks in Canada, ends with the death of Joseph Brant in 1807.

In October, 1700, the commissioners for trade and plantations wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London of the "great want of some Ministers of the Church of England to instruct the Five Nations of Indians on the Frontiers of New York and prevent their being practis'd upon by French Priests and Jesuits who are conversant amongst them, and very industrious in perswading them by pretences of Religion to espouse the French Interest: . . . if a Fund can be found for the Maintenance of such Ministers they may be of very good Use and Service as well for the Propagation of the Reformed Religion as for Improving the Interest of England." Eight months later the S.P.G. was founded by royal charter. In this way began the close connection between the colonial office and the S.P.G. which was to exist for many years and was to be particularly noticeable in Upper Canada over a century and a quarter later.

The history of French missionary effort among the Iroquois is well known to Canadian students and the contribution of Sir William Johnson in winning the Mohawks over to the English side has long been recognized; but the part played by the S.P.G. missionaries in Indian politics has been overlooked. This has probably been due to the fact that the records were not available, although several years ago the late Professor A. H. Young touched on the matter in his review of Pound's *Johnson of the Mohawks*.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Lydekker's purpose has been to fill the gap in our information and "to illustrate the importance of the political (apart from the evangelistic) aspect of the Society's labours in establishing and cementing the English alliance with the Mohawks, which became an essential factor in our colonial expansion in North America". This the author has succeeded in doing.

The editorial work is excellent and the index is complete. In some cases in his narrative and index Mr. Lydekker has adopted the spelling of place-names as he found them in the original documents: e.g., Tyenderoga and Canajoharie, which might better have been given as Tyendinaga and Canajoharie. However, it is less than fair to draw attention to these very minor points in a review of an historical work as valuable as this one is.

J. J. TALMAN

The Legislative Library, Toronto.

*The America of 1750: Peter Kalm's Travels in North America.* Edited by ADOLPH B. BENSON. The English version of 1770. Revised from the original Swedish by the editor. With a translation of new material from Kalm's diary notes. Vols. I and II. New York: Wilson-Erickson Inc. 1937. Pp. xviii, 797.

IF for no other reasons than that a recent rare book catalogue listed the first English edition of Peter Kalm's travels at \$60.00 and that the second edition of 1772 is abridged, students will welcome these volumes. The *Travels* contain invaluable material descriptive of America between the years 1748 and 1751. Dr. Benson points out that while interest in Kalm has recently increased, his work is still neglected and is known only to a small group of specializing scholars. The fact that he was apparently the first efficient naturalist to conduct comprehensive and

<sup>1</sup>CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XI, Dec., 1930, 353.

methodical studies in the colonial settlements and make his findings known in a large way is in itself an achievement worthy of more attention. However, this definitive edition which puts the work within the reach of every library and scholar no doubt will soon enhance Kalm's reputation.

Kalm came to Canada in July, 1749, and remained until October. The description of the Canadian part of his travels covers more than two hundred pages. Although he was a naturalist, Kalm's interests were much wider than his profession. He was particularly interested in public institutions like churches, hospitals, and convents. In the Canadian section he commented on boats, a soldier's rations, food, agricultural implements, minerals, plants, diseases, manners and customs, animals, trades, the common houseflies, wild cattle, money and wages, farm houses, road shrines, women's dress, windmills, ironworks, prayers, fish traps, churches and convents, slated roofs, streets, climate, geological formations, haymaking, Indians, domestic animals, shipbuilding, and lime kilns.

Students of Canadian history who have already used the first edition or the French edition of 1880 will be interested to learn that a recently discovered continuation of Kalm's Swedish journal, now printed for the first time in English (pp. 543 ff.), contains some Canadian material.

The two volumes are well edited, attractively printed, and well indexed.

J. J. TALMAN

The Legislative Library, Toronto.

*A Servant of the Crown in England and in North America, 1756-1761.* By NORREYS JEPHSON O'CONOR. Based upon the papers of John Appy, Secretary and Judge Advocate of His Majesty's Forces. A Publication of the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New York. New York, London: D. Appleton-Century Co. [Toronto: The Ryerson Press]. 1938. Pp. xii, 256. (\$3.50)

THIS interesting volume throws a good deal of light (to say nothing of many illuminating sidelights) on the administration of the army and on the parts played by individuals during the campaigns which resulted in the conquest of Canada. The author frankly calls his work "a portrait rather than a complete biography"; and says that "future investigators should be able to add further touches". He has, however, studied the original Appy and Amherst archives, besides some apposite others; while his "Acknowledgments" to many historical specialists serve to inspire the reader with still more confidence in the value of his work. The index is good; though not sufficiently itemised. Each chapter has its own "notes" at the end of the book, the whole forming a bibliography. The inclusion of such a special modern work as *Montcalm au combat de Carillon* (issued by the historical section of the French General Staff in 1909) tends to inspire further confidence; but students cannot help regretting that there are neither foot-notes nor numbers to guide them into the exact archival, or other, sources from which this most painstaking author obtained the original evidence for each important item in his text. Nevertheless, this book, taken as a whole, may be safely recommended to all who can appreciate the biographic side of history. Appy had a touch, which, though in a very minor way, was not unlike that of another devoted "servant of the crown",—no less a celebrity than Samuel Pepys; and our author himself quite evidently takes a real Boswellian interest in all the varied characters concerned in his story.

Another point in favour of this book is that it directs attention to some of those essential war activities which are usually overlooked by the general public and

rarely given due attention by historians: namely, the secretarial work of G.H.Q., and its manifold connections with the extremely important questions of supply and transport, as well as with the governments concerned. Appy's own position and circumstances were, of course, extremely unimportant, when compared to those of Sir Maurice Hankey in the Great War, but there are some interesting points of similarity. The book suggests another comparison with the Great War: the similarity between those two perfect comrades of men of all ranks,—Lord Howe, who fell before Ticonderoga, and Lord Byng, who led the Canadians at Vimy.

Appy was secretary to Loudoun and then to Amherst, whom he accompanied to Montreal at the end of the last campaign. The title of one chapter, "Duties and diversions", rather well describes his own life; for, though an excellent secretary, all through many a twelve-hour day, he likewise excelled in the proverbial "wine, women, and song". There is not much from his own letters in this book, but his private accounts contain notes which almost make them a diary. His letters to Haldimand, quoted verbatim, have special interest for Canadians, and Mr. O'Connor himself never forgets the Canadian campaigns. He does make an occasional slip (e.g., p. 88: "At the close of 1757, after Pitt's dismissal"). He omits Fortescue's *History of the British army* from his bibliography, although both he and his readers might have learnt some points of importance on administration from this truly great work. The author does not profess to be an historian, but his present work fills some historic gaps, and it certainly deserves a place in every collection of Canadian history.

WILLIAM WOOD

Quebec.

*The Administration of Justice under the Quebec Act.* By HILDA M. NEATBY. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press. 1937. Pp. viii, 383. (\$6.00)

MISS NEATBY has shown great industry in studying of records of the province of Quebec to find out the reasons of the shortcomings of the administration of justice in the province from 1774 to 1791. That the administration of justice was imperfect during that period is undeniable. In 1787, a commission was appointed to investigate the causes of this unsatisfactory condition; it heard the most important citizens of Quebec and Montreal, but was unable to come to a definite conclusion. Miss Neatby, on the other hand, comes to a conclusion at the very beginning of her study, and at the end of the first chapter, she states unhesitatingly: "The tragedy of 1774 lies in the fact that on what should have been a camping ground the 'French party' of Carleton and Mabane erected a citadel." Having reached that conclusion at such an early stage, it is no wonder that she can open the last chapter headed "Conclusion", with these words: "In the preceding chapters an attempt has been made to determine whether the many complaints about the administration of justice under the Quebec Act, were well founded, or whether they were merely the political propaganda of the English party. The question, it is hoped, has received a definite answer." And she adds: "It involves a further one. What were the defects of the system, and what caused them? That question too has been answered at length and in detail."

In justice to the imperial authorities, it must be said that the task of providing the new colony with a proper judicial system was a herculean one. To try to impose at once, upon sixty thousand subjects, laws that they knew nothing about,

in a language they did not understand, explained (I cannot say elucidated), by judges unfamiliar with their surroundings, would have been, as stated by the most enlightened English statesmen of the time, nothing short of tyranny. To leave matters *in statu quo* was impossible. The *Conseil supérieur* was not a judicial tribunal: it comprised the bishop, the governor, the intendant, and trained jurists were in a minority. Besides, there were no lawyers in the colony to provide judicial timber. It is not surprising that the judiciary did not begin to be at all satisfactory until some time under the union. "*Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.*"

Before the union, we may distinguish four periods: (1) military occupation, 1759-64; (2) Murray's ordinances, 1764-74; (3) the Quebec Act, 1774-91; (4) the Constitutional Act, 1791-1840. Of those four periods, Miss Neatby has selected the third as the "tragic" one. The Quebec Act, in the view of General Haldimand, prevented Canada from being a fourteenth state of the union. He wrote: "I think that in making Laws and Regulations for the Administration of these Laws, Regard is to be paid to the Sentiments and Manner of thinking of 60,000 rather than 2000—three fourths of whom are Traders and Cannot with propriety be Considered as Residents of the Province.—In this point of view the Quebec Act was both just and Politic, tho' unfortunately for the British Empire, it was enacted Ten Years too late."<sup>1</sup> During those ten years (1764-74), Murray promulgated a number of ordinances tending to substitute the laws of England for the laws hitherto in force. On June 7, 1774, the house of commons declared these ordinances illegal, by a vote of 91 to 31.

Protests against the Quebec Act on the part of the English traders began as early as November, 1774, months before the act came into force. A new protest was signed in London on April 2, 1778, mainly against the suppression of trial by jury and English commercial laws, and also against the uncertainty of the civil laws. Another petition was signed on November 2, 1784, asking for a house of assembly, but also asking, in measured terms, for changes in the laws; then the loyalists petitioned in 1785, ten days before trial by jury in civil matters was introduced. In 1786, new representations were made, complaining that merchants had been ruined, within the last three years, through the uncertainty of the law.

Then came the judgment of the majority of the court of appeals, presided over by Chief Justice William Smith, in the case of *Gray v. Grant*. Miss Neatby frequently refers to that decision, without qualifying it. Briefly, it is this: Gray, a Scotchman, died in his native country, leaving four children, and a claim of some nine hundred pounds against William Grant, a prominent merchant of Quebec, and a member of the legislative council. One of Gray's sons, a lawyer, bought out his brothers' shares, came to Canada, renounced his father's estate, and had himself appointed, according to the local practice, curator to the property of his deceased father. As such, he took suit against Grant and the trial judge decided in his favour. The court of appeals, however, at the instigation of Chief Justice Smith, the French-speaking judges dissenting, dismissed the claim on the ground that it should have been urged by an administrator appointed under the laws of England, an officer with practically the same powers as a curator under Quebec law as it then stood. Smith felt the need of explaining himself in a letter to Nepean. The fact remains that a just claim was thrown out on a technicality, and one based not on local practice, but on a practice foreign to the country. Moreover,

<sup>1</sup>W. P. M. Kennedy, *Statutes, treaties and documents of the Canadian constitution* (Oxford, 1930), document XL.

Grant was, in the legislative council, an ardent supporter of Smith's reforms, so that the chief justice killed two birds with the same stone: he rammed English law down the throat of the local litigants—in this case, Scotchmen—and secured the gratitude and assistance of a man whose dealings as receiver-general were not above reproach. The best proof that the administration of justice in Quebec was very imperfect is that Chief Justice Smith was not impeached. Yet Miss Neatby offers no criticism of his action, while she is severe on Mabane's decision to throw out a trivial case, in order to avoid the court being troubled by unimportant claims. The period following the Constitutional Act of 1791 was not beyond reproach, as regards the administration of justice, but, at least, impeachments took place.

Miss Neatby's research work was done most industriously, and she is to be thanked for the spade work undertaken in the records of the courts and the manuscript correspondence. With the facts as presented by her, one may build an argument in either sense. There is, however, one fact omitted, and it is the numerical proportion of those who wanted reforms, and those who favoured the *status quo*. At first, the reformers were about thirty, half of whom were domiciled in the old country. I have cited the proportion in Haldimand's days. It did not alter considerably. If we add the fact that merchants, when dealing amongst themselves, were at liberty to state that their contract would be decided according to the laws of England, and that the English courts would take cognizance of all difficulties arising therefrom, a clause which is found, even to this day, in bills of lading, for instance, the extent of the agitation which Miss Neatby approves of seems to be out of all proportion to the evils complained of, and to the damage which the remedy proposed by her would have caused.

E. FABRE SURVEYER

Montreal.

*Tecumseh and His Times: The Story of a Great Indian.* By JOHN M. OSKISON.  
New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1938. Pp. xii, 244.

FROM the strictly technical point of view it is quite easy to find a few faults in this otherwise very good work. For there is not only no bibliography but also no exact references to the original items of evidence concerned. But sympathetic readers will forgive these omissions by remembering three cogent points. First, all the crucial Canadian and American history concerned can be fully substantiated by reference to many well-known works, based on the actual archives. Secondly, there are no Indian archives to quote, for Indian history is, in itself, somewhat like unwritten folklore; so the "intra-" Tecumseh must rather be sensed than described. Finally, the author's moving dedication unselfconsciously explains why he rather tends to follow the alluring trail of a true romantic novel. "This book is dedicated to all Dreamers and Strivers for the integrity of the Indian race, some of whose blood flows in my veins."

Pontiac, Brant, Tecumseh: all desperately sought to stem the ruthless rising tide of the invading white exploiters and the overwhelming sea of settlement behind. Then, when the inevitable frontier wars ensued, Tecumseh, more than ever, tried to unite the Indians, so as to keep at least one final frontier safe. Of course there were some Indian "atrocities" in "1812": just the same as the whites would certainly have committed if they had been in the same stage of evolution as the "reds". But Tecumseh himself was by far the most humane of all the

great war chiefs. So when we likewise remember that he was by far the greatest uniter, recruiter, tactician, and strategist of all Indian history, we should rejoice to see our author change his sub-title from "The story of a great Indian" to "The greatest Indian ever known".

WILLIAM WOOD

Quebec.

*The Early Buildings of Ontario.* By ERIC R. ARTHUR. With a foreword by JOHN ALFORD. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1938. Pp. 23. (50c.)

THIS agreeable brochure is so brief that it can do little more than suggest the importance of its subject; but this it does effectively. The architecture of "early" Ontario—that is, primarily of the period following the War of 1812, when permanent building first began on a considerable scale, and the Georgian tradition was still current—has lately begun to influence modern architects, to the great profit of the community. It is to be hoped that this little book, which is addressed at least as much to the general reader as to the specialist, will have the effect of spreading more widely among the public a knowledge and appreciation of the gracious and charming buildings which were the rule in Canada before the disastrous onset of Victorian eclecticism. It could serve at least two very useful purposes: first, to help to produce a sounder standard of taste both among modern architects and those who give them orders; secondly, to encourage modern Canadians to interest themselves in the preservation in their original simplicity of the old buildings that yet remain. Every year, many fine old houses are either entirely destroyed or altered beyond recognition by modern "improvements"; and every contribution towards checking this process is a blow struck for the preservation of Canada's cultural heritage.

The book, however, also merits the attention of the historian. Professor T. J. Wertenbaker, in his *Founding of American civilization*, has pointed out the value of architecture as an index of cultural traditions in new countries; and Professor Arthur here gives us a hint of what might be accomplished along these lines in Canada. If some student or group of students would undertake a thorough examination and analysis of the architecture of the various sections of Canada, they would almost certainly reveal the means of tracing with considerable distinctness the effect of the diverse regional influences, stemming from different parts of the British Isles, the United States, or continental Europe, which have contributed to the shaping of Canadian culture. To take one example: Mr. Arthur illustrates here the admirable Barnum house at Grafton, Ontario, and remarks: "The prototype of this type of house may be seen in the eastern United States, in Williamsburg, Virginia, and elsewhere." The present writer has not the slightest doubt that this style came to Upper Canada from the upper Hudson valley, for it is very common in the Albany-Saratoga region; and this architectural transit is merely a symbol of the fashion in which New York state has influenced Upper Canada in innumerable fields of activity since the days of the American Revolution. Anyone who undertakes a complete and scientific investigation of the field to which this little brochure provides such an attractive introduction will find the task difficult and complex, but certainly fascinating and probably rewarding. In such an investigation, incidentally, the collection of photographs and measured drawings which Professor Arthur has assembled at the University of Toronto (many examples of which are given here) would be of inestimable value.

C. P. STACEY

Princeton University.



*Histoire des patriotes. Tome I: L'explosion du nationalisme.* By GÉRARD FILTEAU. (Documents historiques.) Montréal: Editions de L'A.C.-F. 1938. Pp. 227.

*L'Accalmie: Lord Durham au Canada.* By LEO-PAUL DESROSIER. Montréal: Imprimerie du Devoir, 430 est Notre-Dame. 1937. Pp. 149. (\$1.00)

It is perhaps natural that Canadian historians of French descent should be interested in the decade of the 1830's principally because of the danger in which French-Canadian nationality stood during that period. This attitude, however, circumscribes the field of their studies. They see the issues primarily as racial ones, unrelated to wider movements on the continent, or even to the conflict between agricultural and commercial interests which was then taking place throughout the whole length of the St. Lawrence valley. The advantage of their works, on the other hand, lies in the lucid picture they present of the unhappy state of French Canada under the old colonial system.

M. Filteau, in this opening volume of his *Histoire des patriotes*, first makes an exhaustive examination of the workings of the system of colonial government in Lower Canada before 1837. It is a familiar story, one of exploitation and cupidity on the part of a small resident governing clique, and of negligence and inconsistency on the part of the imperial authorities. The second part of this volume discusses the gradual formation of a party of patriots, and the development of their programme in the field of Lower Canadian politics. It is a scholarly work and very well documented, though the author appears to have made little reference to contemporary English writers on the subject. He should, by the way, correct the spelling of Lord Goderich's name in preparing his second volume.

Despite the documentation, it is doubtful if M. Filteau can sustain without question two assumptions which he appears to make. One is that the British government in 1791 intended to turn over the province of Quebec to its remaining French inhabitants for their exclusive possession and exploitation; the other, that the Constitutional Act was meant to be a grant to the colony of responsible government in internal affairs. Pitt was no doubt in a generous mood in 1791, but it is doubtful if he intended to be as magnanimous as all this.

M. Filteau claims to have made a completely objective study of his sources and has not, he says, hesitated to consult authorities which are hostile to the patriots. At the same time, he writes with the conviction that his contemporaries must learn the lesson of the patriots. The oligarchy has raised its head again, and putting on its face the mask of fair play and the *bonne entente*, it beguiles the French Canadians once more by saying "Soyons frères". The analogy, he says, between 1837 and 1937 is striking.

M. Desrosiers, in his approach to Lord Durham, is similarly concerned with the problem of French-Canadian nationality. In an attractively written volume he tells the story of the brief period of calm in Lower Canada between Durham's appointment and the disavowal by the British government which cut short his work. It was a calm darkened, to be sure, by the black cloud of Durham's "defamation" of the French Canadians, but not until his policy of appeasement was destroyed by Melbourne's action were the winds of controversy felt once more. M. Desrosiers discusses at some length Durham's attack on French-Canadian culture and his recommendation for the destruction of their nationality. He endeavours to explain the presence of this attitude in one with so pure a record of liberalism. He attributes it partly to the fact that Durham, in the absence of

responsible French-Canadian advisers, fell under the influence of a group in Quebec which favoured anglicization, and partly to the fact that at heart Durham was an imperialist. "Chez lui, à côté du réformiste sincère, se tient le proconsul impérial." These considerations, M. Desrosiers thinks, were bound to prejudice his views about the situation in Lower Canada, and to limit the force of his recommendations for responsible government.

In the counterplay of forces which, throughout the empire as a whole, made possible the winning of responsible government, the people of Lower Canada played a part of great importance. It is to be hoped that scholars as able as MM. Filteau and Desrosiers will go forward to place in its wider setting the story they have told here with so much of interest and clarity.

R. G. RIDDELL

The University of Toronto.

*Catalogue of the William Inglis Morse Collection of Books, Pictures, Maps, Manuscripts, etc.* At Dalhousie University Library, Halifax, Nova Scotia. Compiled by EUGENIE ARCHIBALD. With a foreword by CARLETON STANLEY and a preface by WILLIAM INGLIS MORSE. London: Curwen Press. 1938. Pp. [7], 119.

SCHOLARS and students, specially those of the Maritime Provinces, will welcome the above catalogue. An author with eleven volumes to his name, outside of pamphlets, Dr. William Inglis Morse, a former Nova Scotian now residing in Boston, Mass., had gathered *con amore* the remarkable collection which he has now presented to Dalhousie University, perfecting it with the present catalogue printed at his own expense.

The catalogue exhibits the variety and extent of the collection, which includes many items from manuscripts to pictures and from maps to busts. The largest section is made up of books covering an exceedingly wide range of subjects and periods from Galileo's geographical *Dialogo* of 1632 to Bliss Carman's twenty-one books of verses, the last one being of 1929. The historical works, nevertheless, are the most numerous and interesting, at any rate, to the reviewer.

Most important of all, the manuscript section includes the important documents listed by Dr. Morse in his well-known *Acadiensia Nova*. It is good news to know that such documents as Sir William Alexander's *Minute of condition and Relation du voyage de M. de Meulles à l'Acadie*, 1685-6, are now available to scholars.

The map section lists many maps, including a fine copy of DesBarres' *Atlantic neptune*. As to the picture section, it can boast such remarkable items as ten original sketches of Pooley and fifty-two original sketches of Woolford. Certainly public thanks are due to Dr. Morse for his enlightened and generous contribution to Canadian history.

GUSTAVE LANCTOT

The Public Archives of Canada,  
Ottawa.

*An Introduction to the History of Dalhousie University.* By D. C. HARVEY. Halifax, N.S.: McCurdy Printing Co. 1938. Pp. 110.

MR. HARVEY has recalled the struggles of the founders of Dalhousie University most opportunely, as its graduates celebrated last August the centenary of the

opening of its classes in 1838. These four essays, based upon original research, give valuable side-lights on the history of a period in which the educational character of Nova Scotia was shaped. The conflicting religious and political ideas, working with great bitterness within the bosom of that society, have since then been all too slowly mitigated. Those most familiar with the times will be readiest to acknowledge with what a sure tread Mr. Harvey makes his way through the tangled controversies, how much illumination he has let in upon the scene, and how fair he has been to the contestants. The story is told with ease and lucidity. While the stage was small and remote, it was for a time the most important in the English-speaking colonies. Issues were being fought out which were almost identical and contemporaneous with those in Upper Canada, though here they arose slightly later. "Dalhousie College was an idea prematurely born into an alien and unfriendly world, deserted by its parents, betrayed by its guardians, and throughout its minority abused by its friends and enemies alike. Its history cannot be dissociated from the struggle of democracy against monopoly and privilege in church and state: for the idea of Dalhousie was that of a college that would be open to all regardless of class or creed and, in contending for this idea among others, the champions of responsible government, most of whom were dissenters, had first to break the monopoly of an established church in religion, education and government before they could find place for the democratic principle of a career open to talent."

Dr. Thomas McCulloch, its first president, was probably the greatest figure in the early history of education in the British North American provinces. He was a better scholar and more broad-minded than his brother Scot, Bishop Strachan, and, for all the antagonism he aroused, he was less obstinate; he had also, through his Scottish schooling and Glasgow University training, a better intellectual background than Dr. Egerton Ryerson, who became so prominent in the similar cause in Upper Canada. The struggle for the idea was more disheartening in Nova Scotia than in Upper Canada, where Robert Baldwin succeeded in 1849 in getting the University of Toronto established securely on a non-denominational basis.

Mr. Harvey ends his introduction with a sketch of the faculty of Dalhousie in the last third of the nineteenth century. Nearly all those professors I remember; they were an unusually competent body of men. Their accomplishment, with that of their successors, will I hope soon be commemorated by Mr. Harvey in a fuller history of the university.

R. A. FALCONER

Toronto.

*Calixa Lavallée: Musicien national du Canada.* By EUGÈNE LAPIERRE. (Série Albums Canadiens.) Montréal: Editions de L'A. C.-F. 1937. Pp. 214.

NATIONAL songs are apt, through frequent use, to take on an impersonal air, and the personalities of their composers are usually obscure. Not often have national tunes been written by the greatest composers, Haydn being probably the only composer of first rank to succeed in this field, but the composers of national songs have often been genuine personalities. The career of Calixa Lavallée, the composer of "O Canada", was varied and even adventurous. Dr. Lapierre, in producing the first complete biography of the composer, has added to our very meagre literature on Canadian music a book both readable and informative.

Calixa, whose father, Augustin Lavallée, was a blacksmith of good habitant

stock, and whose mother was of partly Scottish descent, grew up in as musical an atmosphere as might be found at that time in Verchères near which village he was born in 1842, or in Saint Hyacinthe where much of his early childhood was spent. Augustin Lavallée was a sort of Harmonious Blacksmith who devoted much time to music in his spare hours; a circular issued by him in 1853 announces that he "teaches music and repairs musical instruments and fire-arms". In his early teens Calixa was adopted by one Léon Derome and sent to study in Montreal, but, being of a roving disposition, he ran away with a theatrical troupe and spent some years earning a precarious living as an accompanist. During the Civil War we find him enlisted in the Fourth Rhode Island Regiment and for a while afterwards played the cornet in a negro minstrel troupe. After a short period in the early seventies when he was connected with a New York theatre he returned to Montreal and was presently sent by Derome, in his thirty-second year, to study in Paris.

From the time of his return to Canada in 1875 until the end of 1880 Lavallée lived in his native country and the musical life of Montreal and Quebec gained by the impress of an energetic and capable personality. For the first visit to Quebec of the Marquis of Lorne as governor-general, Lavallée wrote a cantata in which the tunes "God save the king", "Vive la canadienne", and "Comin' through the rye" were cleverly interwoven. Shortly after this he wrote his setting of Adolphe Routhier's poem "O Canada terre de nos aïeux". This air slowly gained recognition although the new governor-general had written his own national hymn for Canada—one of sixty verses—and had had it set by no less a person than Sir Arthur Sullivan. Sullivan's setting does its composer little credit.

Finding it impossible to make a satisfactory living in his native country, Lavallée left it at the end of 1880 never to return except as a visitor. After two years of ups and downs, he settled in Boston where he became highly respected by the musical fraternity and on the whole had as happy a time as was possible to one suffering from a growing tubercular affection of the throat. This finally brought about his death in 1891.

What meagre documentary sources can be found bearing on Lavallée's life are listed at the end of the volume. Dr. Lapierre presents the composer of "O Canada" as restless, idealistic, endowed with great gifts which his environment and his roving disposition allowed him to realize only in part. With the exception of "O Canada"—certainly one of the most dignified and stately of national songs—his works are infrequently heard, but he should always be remembered as a musician who conscientiously sought to give his country a genuine musical status and to develop Canadian musical talent.

ERNEST MACMILLAN

Toronto.

Welland County Historical Society. *Papers and Records*. Volume V. LOUIS BLAKE DUFF, editor. Welland: Published by the Society. 1938. Pp. 237.  
*A History of Kitchener, Ontario*. By W. V. (Ben) UTTLEY. Waterloo: The Chronicle Press. 1937. Pp. 434.

THE Welland County Historical Society deserves credit for its initiative in producing so useful, attractive, and carefully edited a volume. Its thirteen articles are uniformly good; and the four documents included may be taken as evidence that the society appreciates the value of original records. A list of the articles is given on pages 446-7 following.

The article of greatest general interest is that by Mr. Duff which gives a biography of the hitherto little-known Samuel Chandler of St. Johns. Chandler was born near Boston and came to St. Johns, Upper Canada, where he set himself up as a wagon maker, in 1822. In December, 1837, he guided William Lyon Mackenzie from Smithville to safety. Chandler was one of the leaders in the Short Hills uprising of June, 1838, and was transported to Van Diemen's Land. With Benjamin Wait, he escaped in 1841 and returned to America in 1842. He settled in Maquoketa, Iowa, where he died in 1866.

In his first article, which he calls "an attempt at a domesday book", Brigadier-General Cruikshank lists the patentees of Bertie township with such information as he has been able to discover regarding them in petitions and other sources. As far as this reviewer knows, it is the first time such a comprehensive attempt at a domesday book has been made for any Ontario township, which makes the article valuable not only for the information it contains but also because it shows the kind of information available in the sources used. Genealogists will be interested in the family relationships shown. General Cruikshank did not give the dates of the patents, evidently because he thought that they were not particularly significant: for in the earlier settled townships, such as Bertie, most of the settlers had taken up their land before the government had set up machinery for the issuing of patents. For example, reference to the register of patents preserved in the crown lands department, Toronto, shows that in the first concession of Bertie the earliest patent was December 15, 1796, and the latest November 7, 1807, while most were issued in 1797 and 1798; although location tickets had been issued for all the lots in the first concession several years earlier. However, in any township opened up after, say, 1815 the dates of the patents are significant and certainly should be included in a domesday book.

General Cruikshank's article on Fort Erie is particularly timely in view of the restoration work at present being done on the fort by the Niagara parks commission. The article by Mr. Ernest Green listing the men of Welland county who were killed, died in service, or were wounded in the War of 1812-14, must represent a great deal of painstaking research. As Mr. Green says, it is improbable that the list is complete, but it is impressive.

The second volume under review can hardly be called a history. It is rather a compilation of information consisting of short historical sketches, seventy-two in number, printed in chronological order, and accompanied by almost one hundred and fifty full-page illustrations of persons and buildings. Accounts of churches and industries take up a large part of the volume which makes available a mass of historical information, preserved in obscure places, relating to Kitchener. While the method is not to be recommended as a pattern for local historians to follow, the work performs a useful service.

J. J. TALMAN

The Legislative Library, Toronto.

*La Participation des Canadiens français à la grande guerre.* By JACQUES MICHEL. Réponse à un livre récent de M. André Siegfried: *Le Canada, puissance internationale.* (Documents sociaux.) Montréal: Edns. de l'A.C.-F. 1938. Pp. 192.

THIS book, intended as a reply to M. Siegfried's criticism of French Canada's relatively small war effort, is an impassioned and somewhat polemical defence of

the Quebec isolationist point of view on Canadian participation not only in the Great War but in any and every imperial war. M. Siegfried's feeling that the poor showing of French Canada was regrettable appears absurd to M. Michel. He considers Canadian participation itself to have been ridiculous and criminal and any resistance offered by French Canadians to have been completely justifiable.

The author asserts that French-Canadian abstention from a more active participation was due primarily to Quebec's typically North American lack of interest in European quarrels and in her refusal to admit gratitude to either Britain or France. In support of the latter contention, M. Michel submits the long catalogue of British and Anglo-Canadian wrongs to Quebec and the time-honoured reasons for French Canada's lack of sympathy for modern France. In conclusion, considerable space is devoted to an attack on Britain as the world enemy of French culture, language, and religion, to a further bitter attack on France as the prime exponent of modern European militarism, and to a denial that Germany was, is, or ever will be Canada's enemy. In order to fight the real enemies of French-Canadian culture, who are held to be the English of London, Washington, or Toronto, Quebec is urged to preserve her strength at home and never to dissipate it by participating in oversea wars in which she cannot have any essential interests.

The book though rather discursive is thought-provoking. It seems a pity that the author did not make a more exhaustive study not only of the fundamental reasons which prevented a whole-hearted French-Canadian war effort, but also of the exact proportions in which his compatriots enlisted. His apparent reliance on the unofficial recruiting figures, published by the *Montreal Presse* in 1916 as a defence of Quebec's war effort, does not go to the heart of the matter. The definitive history of both aspects of this thorny question remains to be written.

ELIZABETH H. ARMSTRONG

New York.

*The Japanese Canadians.* By CHARLES H. YOUNG and HELEN R. Y. REID. With a second part on "Oriental Standards of Living" by W. A. CARROTHERS. Edited by H. A. INNIS. (Published under the auspices of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene; The Canadian Institute of International Affairs.) Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1938. Pp. xxx, 295. (\$2.25)

DURING the past year the problems created by the presence of a relatively large oriental population in British Columbia—about 50,000 in a total of 700,000—have been prominent in public discussion. As a result of the initiative taken by members from the Pacific coast, parliament devoted a number of sessions to a vigorous and acrid debate on the subject. In spite of the prime minister's unwillingness to take any step that might produce unfavourable international reactions, the government was forced to initiate two investigations. A small board of review was appointed to examine charges that Japanese were entering British Columbia illegally in large numbers, and an interdepartmental committee was assigned the very serious task of advising the government on the whole problem created by the oriental influx into Canada.

That most of the current wave of anti-oriental feeling is directed against the Japanese is easily explained. The Chinese community in Canada is dispersed, and, due to the small percentage of women in its composition and to the exclusion act of 1923, is rapidly declining in numbers. The Japanese community is concen-

trated in British Columbia, is being augmented by immigration (though not more than 150 per annum), and is increasing rapidly because of a more or less equal division of the sexes and a present birth-rate of about 35 per 1,000.

In these circumstances the appearance of an objective and scientific study of the Japanese Canadians is of unusual value. One would expect a book written by Mr. Young, Miss Reid, and Mr. Carrothers, edited by Professor Innis, and published under the joint auspices of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, to possess these qualities. A careful reading of the volume under review justifies the expectation.

In part I Mr. Young and Miss Reid discuss "The Japanese Canadians" under the following heads: Japanese immigration, settlement and expansion, Japanese in primary industries, commercial activities and urban colonies, Japanese-Canadian society and its institutions, relations with White Canadians, and social problems in the Japanese settlements. Personal investigation, the collection and assessment of primary source-material, and consultation with acknowledged authorities in the field enabled the authors to prepare a final chapter of conclusions which is carefully considered and moderately expressed. Their views, which must in general be those of any person of intelligence and goodwill who examines the subject with care, are epitomized in the following paragraph:

It is not expected that any measures can eliminate immediately the factors contributing to the conflict between the Japanese and the Whites. The antagonism between the two groups is deeply rooted in group attitudes of a strongly sentimental and emotional nature. The essentially unratinal character of these attitudes implies that they will be very slow to change. All that a programme can do is to offset to a certain extent the influence of those factors which aggravate the antipathy of the two groups towards each other. If such a programme of amelioration were to achieve no more than this, however, it would go a long way towards improving the lot of the Japanese, and towards raising the moral tone of all the groups affected by this unhappy and unwholesome situation. There are undoubtedly those who do not seek this end, for whom agitation against the Japanese appears to have acquired some of the characteristics of a crusade. But for the majority of the people in the Province, anxious to bring up their families in an atmosphere removed from the bigotry and intolerance of race conflict, and desirous of living at peace with the nations bordering on the Pacific Ocean, there can be no alternative.

In part II Dr. Carrothers, working from the basis provided by the census of 1931, provides a detailed statistical study of conditions in the oriental communities of British Columbia under such headings as population, occupation, religion, housing, food, education, and so forth. In general, it may be said that the author found that living standards among the orientals in British Columbia are higher than those of their counterparts in the country from which they came, but are lower than those of their white competitors. That this latter fact is often involuntary does not lessen its significance but does, perhaps, alter the perspective from which it should be viewed. Mr. Carrothers makes one interesting comparison in the following sentences:

It is unlikely that the Orientals who have their families in China or Japan, or single Orientals intending to save and return to their own country, would improve their standards of living in Canada even if receiving higher wages. From a study of the habits of the Chinese and Japanese families who think in terms of permanent residence in British Columbia it is indicated that, given economic and financial opportunity, they would gradually raise themselves to a standard of living similar to that of the Whites in the same occupation.

The popular response to *The Japanese Canadians* will be limited inevitably



because of the objectivity and scientific detachment of the authors. It has little of the appeal that many people would find in a violent attack or a sentimental defence. The response will also be reduced because of the understandable but nevertheless unfortunate use of a literary style that can best be described as "by Blue Book out of Ph.D. Thesis". This is a real cause for regret because the book should be read by a great many Canadians and all British Columbians. It should certainly be required reading for all members of the house of commons and of the legislative assembly in Victoria. Such a requirement would unquestionably result in a higher standard of debate on this subject.

*Environment, Race, and Migration. Fundamentals of Human Distribution: With Special Sections on Racial Classification; and Settlement in Canada and Australia.* By GRIFFITH TAYLOR. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1937. Pp. xv, 483. (\$3.50)

PROFESSOR TAYLOR has revised and greatly enlarged his book *Environment and race* published in 1927. The main part of the book has been considerably extended and four additional chapters on Canada have been added.

Professor Taylor, who has done distinguished work in the fields both of geography and ethnology, is in the fortunate position of being able to apply knowledge in both fields to the problem of the origin and evolution of races, and sets forth cogently his migration-zone theory.

The historian will find in the book a valuable background for the whole field of history. He will find in the story of the spread of races and their modification by their environment, a basis for a longer view than is ordinarily afforded by a single historical epoch. The forces which are here discussed work slowly, though inevitably, and extend over much longer periods than those with which the historian has to deal. Incidentally, he will find very illuminating discussions of the geography of the different continents and of their bearing on racial evolution therein.

Canadian historians will find special interest in the four chapters on Canada which are placed in contrast with the chapters on Australia. Both areas have experienced recent migration and settlement but they present very different physical conditions. A chapter is devoted to each of the physical regions of Canada. The author follows his familiar approach by laying particular emphasis on the structure or "build" of the country. Geology and climate are for him the two great conditioning forces. Apart from the general purpose of the book, the chapters on Canada have great value in that they contain the only comprehensive geographical treatment of the dominion. As is the case with all that Mr. Taylor writes, they are written freshly and illuminatingly. Perhaps they may help the historian to avoid that inevitable first chapter on geography to which no further attention is paid. Though the reading of these chapters will not make the Canadian historian a geographer, they should emphasize for him the importance of geographic influences.

Particular attention is given to migration and settlement, and there is great topical importance in the discussion of the relation between resources and population in Canada as compared with those in other countries. Mr. Taylor's estimate of a possible population of 118 millions may seem excessive to many, but those who object to it should find a basis for rejection as definite as those on which the author supports it.

The range of the book goes far beyond the field of interest of the historian, and far beyond the competence of the reviewer to evaluate. It does, however, add

greatly to our meagre geographical knowledge of Canada, and the book as a whole provides an essential background for almost any field of national history.

W. A. MACKINTOSH

Queen's University.

*The Canadian Desert: An Attempt to Stay the Loss of the West.* By DUNCAN STUART.

Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1938. Pp. viii, 88. (\$1.00; paper, 75c.)

*New Breaking: An Outline of Co-operation among the Western Farmers of Canada.*

By HUGH BOYD. Toronto, Vancouver: J. M. Dent and Sons (Canada). 1938. Pp. 215. (\$2.00)

In the prairie wheat economy, drought and depression extending almost unbroken over a period of ten years have served to indicate that emphasis has shifted from problems of exploitation to problems of conservation. Consequently every contribution to the discussion of methods by which the rehabilitation of the area might be effected demands careful study and examination, but the author of *The Canadian desert* has failed to convince at least one reviewer that he has any useful contribution to make to this discussion.

Mr. Stuart states at the outset that "my aim is to persuade my fellow wayfarers to leave the smooth and beaten road of single crop husbandry and to seek a rougher and more toilsome, but a nobler and a safer, path" (p. v). To this end he sketches the structure of the prairie steppes; describes at length the deserts of the world and their origins; comes out strongly in favour of large-scale irrigation projects, particularly for Saskatchewan (with some rather naïve estimates of cost); distinguishes, in five chapters, "true" farmers from "grain farmers", and points, finally, to the "hard and only road" of achieving, by mixed farming and plenty of manure, virtual self-sufficiency on a few acres of prairie land.

The book is a mine of misinformation and misrepresentation. A few examples, picked at random, will suffice: "virgin water-holding humus" is alleged to have rescued earlier wheat crops from failure but "dead humus" is "far inferior to the quick or living" (pp. 13-4); "in 1935, 94 per cent [of all cultivated land] was in wheat or in summer fallow for wheat, in Saskatchewan" (p. 14); western Canada is described as "a country given over to grain miners and relief claimants and statesmen whose highest flight of statecraft is to dole out millions for relief or to spend it on roads through unwatered wastes. From these we turn with pleasure to the Berbers, the Tuaregs, Tibbus and Kabyles of the Sahara" (p. 20); the Prairie Provinces should be using "our brimming rivers" to "water our burning plains" but instead "we find a matter of four or five small dams in all the West" (p. 36); the typical western farmer puts in "sixty days of work and three hundred days of rest-less indolence" (p. 61); "his house does not look like a home—no vegetable garden, no flowers, no trees, no household work", yet "water for cattle, fields and gardens . . . can always be got by digging or boring" (p. 62); of such farmers it is declared that, "to the number of 87,000 they had abandoned in one province 18,000,000 acres by 1934 and have since been pouring into our cities for relief or are demanding and getting charity from our governments" (p. 71).

*New breaking* is an up-to-date, popular account of what the Hon. W. R. Motherwell in his foreword describes as the "long and well sustained farmer struggle for the most satisfactory co-operative method of marketing our wheat . . . coupled with the story of securing appropriate legislation . . . designed to protect the producer from the abuses and practices more or less inherent in the warehousing, transporting and handling of grain".

The first half of the book, sketching the background against which farmer organizations and co-operative elevator companies arose and chronicling their achievements, appears to lean rather heavily on the work already done in this field by such men as Hopkins Moorhouse, L. A. Wood, H. S. Patton, C. R. Fay, and W. A. Mackintosh. The author expounds with fervour the gospel of co-operation but it can scarcely be claimed that he breaks any new ground.

The second half of the book is an interesting and useful account of the origin and rapid growth of the pools; the conflict of the new movement with the co-operative elevator companies; the financial embarrassment of the pools following the collapse of wheat prices in the fall of 1929; and the long fight for a federal wheat board. Mr. Boyd writes as a member of the pool organization in closest sympathy with the aims and objects of the movement, but his treatment of the more controversial aspects of the history and policy of the pools reflects a commendable absence of bias. He shows how the three essential features of policy: equalized payments to growers, reduction of speculation by the pool's shouldering its own risks, and direct selling abroad, were reluctantly abandoned. He recognizes that "it was the Pool's good fortune that it started business in an era of wide demand for Canadian wheat" (p. 137); that "the uncompromising Wheat Pools" helped to take the United Grain Growers out of its friendly position with "one foot in the pit and the other in the Pool", and put the U.G.G. into bitter opposition to the pools (p. 148); that "the word 'co-operative' is really a misnomer" when applied to the movement for a compulsory pool (p. 172); that, compared with the guaranteed minimum prices of the 1935 wheat board, "the organized farmers had never been in such a happy position when they were directly in the wheat marketing business" (p. 179).

Less satisfactory is the author's failure to do full justice to the strong personality, the clear judgment, and practical idealism of the first head of the Saskatchewan pool and of the central selling agency, Mr. A. J. McPhail. His appraisal of the character and role of the pool's premier evangelist, Mr. Aaron Sapiro, is, to say the least uncritical. Finally, not all the friends of co-operation may share Mr. Boyd's somewhat vague optimism for the future of the movement in western Canada.

G. E. BRITNELL

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*Canada Today: A Study of her National Interests and National Policy.* By F. R. SCOTT. Foreword by E. J. TARR. Prepared for the British Commonwealth Relations Conference, 1938. (Issued under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.) Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 163. (Cloth, \$1.25; paper, 75c.)

THIS book was prepared at the request of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs as a survey of Canadian conditions and opinions for the information of delegates to the second British Commonwealth relations conference held at Sydney, Australia, in September, 1938. Commencing with a survey of the Canadian economy and those influences of geography and population which have contributed to make it what it is, the book then describes the old political parties and their newer rivals from Quebec nationalism to social credit. In a well-written chapter on constitutional problems, Professor Scott recounts the story of the gradual transfer of residual powers from the dominion to the provinces as a result of successive privy council decisions, and describes the economic and political diffi-

culties thus created. There is a discussion of the problem of national defence as it is seen by Canadian authorities, accompanied by a description of the attitude of various Canadian groups towards it. Canada's relationships with the British Commonwealth, the League of Nations, and the United States are examined, with the advantages and disadvantages arising therefrom. In the latter and more controversial part of the book, Mr. Scott discusses the possibility of neutrality in a future European war, analyses the present objectives of external policy, and examines the extent to which future economic, political, and military co-operation among the various members of the British Commonwealth may be expected.

For non-Canadian readers, the book offers a useful introduction to many of the most important topics of present-day economic and political debate. The Canadian reader will recognize a condensed but accurate picture of the geographic and racial cleavages, the conflict of economic interests, and the constitutional impasse which form the background of contemporary Canadian politics. As one would naturally expect in a work of this kind, Mr. Scott is concerned with stating familiar issues rather than with contributing fresh arguments or advocating desirable solutions: yet even those to whom the material is familiar may benefit by his clear formulation of opposing views and alternative policies. There is no attempt to present a cheerful picture. On the contrary, the reader is left with an impression of a country which suffers from sparse population yet is already overpopulated; where income is widely fluctuating yet costs are unavoidably rigid; and where there seems to be little hope of harmonizing divergent sectional interests. In the field of international affairs, Mr. Scott (writing, of course, before Munich) discerns a lessening of traditional British influences in a country where, already, only about half of the population is of British stock, a narrowing prospect of co-operation with other parts of the British Commonwealth, and an increasing tendency towards a distinctively Canadian outlook.

H. R. KEMP

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*The Encyclopedia of Canada.* Edited by W. STEWART WALLACE. Vol. IV: *Lauzon-New Toronto*. Vol V: *Newts-Siksika*. Vol. VI: *Sillery-Zurich*. Toronto: University Associates of Canada. [Murray Printing Company.] 1936; 1937; 1937. Pp. [vi], 400; [vi], 398; [vi], 399.

*The World Book.* British Empire Edition. General Editor, HAROLD SHELTON; Editor for Canada in Dominions Volume, LAWRENCE J. BURPEE. 10 vols. Toronto: W. F. Quarrie and Co. [1937]. Pp. 5818. (\$49.50)

THE earlier volumes of the *Encyclopedia of Canada* have already been reviewed in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW for December, 1935, and for June, 1936. Since that time, the fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes have been published; they cover the subject-matter from *Lauzon* to *Zurich* and constitute the second half of the work. The general editor has continued to rely upon the assistance of experts in particular fields; and a few of these special articles, of particular interest to the readers of the REVIEW, might be mentioned. The following list is merely a sample of the many valuable items in the last three published volumes: constitutional law, Professor W. P. M. Kennedy; English-Canadian literature, Dr. Lorne Pierce; lumbering, Professor A. R. M. Lower; North West Company, W. S. Wallace; Quebec conference, Dr. W. M. Whitelaw; St. Lawrence waterway project, Professor G. W. Brown; tariffs, Professor K. W. Taylor; and transportation, Professor G. P. deT. Glazebrook.

With the publication of the sixth and final volume, the encyclopedia is now complete; and its general usefulness as an indispensable work of reference is fully revealed. The obvious comprehensiveness of the encyclopedia is one of its outstanding merits; and its historical emphasis will enhance its value for readers of this REVIEW. The treatment of the individual items might have been more detailed; and a greater number of special articles, written by authorities recognized in their particular fields, might possibly have been included. In this latter respect, the first volume of the work set a standard which has not been steadily maintained; it contained 48 special articles, while only 19 are included in the sixth and last volume. These suggestions, however, all involve general considerations of scope and size; and it is perhaps more pertinent to judge the work in terms of the design which its organizers considered to be most practicable. An encyclopedia, devoted exclusively to Canada and yet planned and executed on a really ample scale, is perhaps as yet an impossible venture. In the meantime we are grateful for a work which provides a variety of precise information about Canada, together with a number of interpretative articles on its institutions and activities.

The *World book* is a new, general encyclopedia in ten volumes, whose "prime purpose is to afford instruction and interest in subjects other than those with which the reader is most familiar". The edition here under review is entitled the British Empire edition; and it includes the somewhat unusual feature of a special volume, which is devoted exclusively to the British dominions and India. In this volume, the ninth, the section on each dominion is separate and self-contained; but, although it is thus a separate feature of the encyclopedia, the dominions volume has been regarded as an essential part of the whole work and has been carefully indexed in the elaborate guide at the end of the set. The editors and contributors of the work as a whole are chiefly English; but, in the dominions volume, the authorities are, in the main, residents or natives of the country which they undertake to describe. Mr. L. J. Burpee is the general editor of the Canadian section of the volume; and he has secured contributions from a number of able authorities in their respective fields. These general articles are a valuable feature of the Canadian section; they are very well done and they are more lengthy than might have been expected. There appear to be no general historical articles; and all that space permits are a number of brief items on outstanding events and personalities.

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## RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review. The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—Bulletin des recherches historiques; C.H.R.—CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; C.J.E.P.S.—Canadian journal of economics and political science.)

### I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

ADAMS, JAMES TRUSLOW. *Building the British Empire: To the end of the first empire*. New York, London: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1938. Pp. xviii, 438. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.

COATMAN, JOHN. *Cultural and intellectual intercourse in the empire* (Political quarterly, IX (4), Oct.-Dec., 1938, 491-502). With particular reference to the part played by the universities, broadcasting, and inter-imperial conferences.

DIOGENES, B. A. *Which way Canada?* Montreal: Burton's Ltd., 1004 St. Catherine St. W. 1938. Pp. 15. (25c.) Considers Canada's relation to the British Empire under the headings: secession, trade, the Monroe doctrine, pacifism, and "If we remain".

EGGLESTON, F. W. *The strategic position of the British Empire* (Australian supplementary papers, series C, no. 2, Australian Institute of International Affairs, 1-16). An examination of the strategic situation of the empire with a view to determining the bearing of this on Australian defence.

EWART, T. S. *The royal prerogative and war* (Canadian forum, XVIII (213), Oct., 1938, 203-4). Draws attention to the confusion surrounding Canada's constitutional right to declare neutrality in a war in which Great Britain is involved.

JENKINS, JOSEPH. *Canada and the empire* (United empire, XXIX (11), Nov., 1938, 515-9). A discussion of imperial unity, dominion autonomy, treaty-making powers, and foreign policy.

JENNINGS, W. IVOR. *The constitution of the British Commonwealth* (Political quarterly, IX (4), Oct.-Dec., 1938, 465-79). A study of the changing structure of the commonwealth since the war with particular reference to defence and foreign policy.

— and YOUNG, C. M. *Constitutional laws of the British Empire*. Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xviii, 364. Typical constitutional cases for the empire and the dominions.

*Kanada—Rüstung und Empire-Wehrwirtschaft* (Wirtschaftsdienst, Hamburg, 20 mai, 1938, 693-4).

KEITH, ARTHUR BERRIEDALE. *The dominions as sovereign states: Their constitutions and governments*. London: Macmillan and Co. [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada]. 1938. Pp. xlvi, 769. (\$7.50) To be reviewed later.

KEMNITZ, MARTIN. *Die auswärtige Gewalt der britischen Dominien*. Würzburg, Germany: Verlag Mayr. 1937. Pp. 85.

KER, FREDERICK I. *Canada and intra-empire co-operation*. Hamilton: The Spectator. 1938. Pp. [vii], 26. This review of some of the more important aspects of intra-empire co-operation from a Canadian standpoint was prepared at the request of the Hamilton branch of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and is strongly opposed to isolationist sentiment. The author discusses definitions and conceptions of empire, geographic and demographic factors, immigration, assimilation, and national unity, and presents facts and figures to support his arguments.

LUXTON, GEORGE. *The United States and the commonwealth* (Report of proceedings of fifth annual conference of Canadian Institute of International Affairs, May, 1938, 7-27). A consideration of political, cultural, and economic relations between the United States, Great Britain, and Canada.

MCCLEARY, G. F. *Population problems in the British Commonwealth* (Eugenics review, XXX (1), April, 1938, 47-52). Discusses the decline of the birth-rate in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa.

MACKENZIE, NORMAN. *A Canadian looks at the empire* (Political quarterly, IX (4), Oct.-Dec., 1938, 552-64). A concise review of the variety of factors which influence Canadian opinion and policy with regard to the empire.

MARLEY, Lord. *The empire as an economic unit* (Political quarterly, IX (4), Oct.-Dec., 1938, 529-40). Observations on empire trade with particular emphasis on the Ottawa agreements.

MENZIES, R. G. *The Statute of Westminster* (Australian law journal, Feb. 18, 1938, 368-77).

SCHILLER, F. C. S. *The future of the British Empire: After ten years*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. 1936. Pp. viii, 125. (3s. 6d.) The first part of this small book was published in 1926 under the title *Cassandra* (see review in vol. VII, 233). Nine short chapters have now been added on the last decade ending with a pessimistic prophecy as to world peace and the future of the European nations.

SCOTT, F. R. *The British Commonwealth relations conference* (Saturday night, Nov. 12, 1938, 2). Discusses the proceedings of the conference held at Sydney, September, 1938.

WILSON, R. R. *The imperial conference of 1937* (American journal of international law, April, 1938, 335-9).

See also II. Canada's International Relations.

## II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

AUTEUIL, MAURICE D'. *Pour une politique extérieure canadienne* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, VIII (2), avril-juin, 1938, 314-26). The theme of this article is summed up in the author's concluding remarks, "Participation in the political activities of the Commonwealth can only mean the sacrifice of our dream of future happiness in the myth of imperialism".

BIGGAR, J. H. *What the northern neighbor has been thinking* (Social studies, XXIX (6), Oct., 1938, 268-71). An historical review of Canada's relations with the United States.

BRUCHÉSI, JEAN. *A French-Canadian view of Canada's foreign policy* (Canadian papers 1938, series A, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 17-22).

Canada, Department of national defence. *Report for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1937*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1937. Pp. 122. (25c.)

Canadian Institute of International Affairs. *Report on the work of, 1937-1938*. Toronto: 86 Queen's park. Printed by the University of Toronto Press. 1938. Pp. 52.

DALTON, HUGH. *The dominions and foreign policy* (Political quarterly, IX (4), Oct.-Dec., 1938, 480-90). An inquiry as to the effect of the foreign policies of the various dominions on that of the mother country and as to the amount of co-ordination in the foreign policy of the commonwealth as a whole.



*Debate in the House of Commons on Canada's external policy, July 1, 1938* (Canadian papers 1938, series C, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 22-40).

*Essential facts about the League of Nations*. Ed. 9 (revised). Geneva: Information Section, League of Nations [Ottawa: League of Nations Society in Canada]. 1938. Pp. 349. A very useful little handbook giving information about the league under such headings as "Constitution and organization", "Political activities", "Technical work", "Relations with the outside world", etc.

GELBER, MARVIN B. *Canada's foreign policy* (University of Toronto quarterly, VIII (1), Oct., 1938, 106-13). Analyses the economic, social, and strategic factors.

GRUBE, G. M. A. *Canada and war in Europe* (Canadian forum, XVIII (213), Oct., 1938, 197-9). An argument against Canadian participation.

MACKENZIE, NORMAN. *Canada: The treaty-making power* (British year book of international law, 1937, London, Toronto, 1937, 172-5).

*Memoranda on Canadian defence* (Canadian papers 1938, series C, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 41-50).

*Report on the work of the league, 1937-38*. (Series of League of Nations publications; General, 1938. 4, 5.) Parts I and II. Geneva: League of Nations. 1938. Pp. 216; 92.

RIDDELL, R. G. *Canada, the far east, and Europe* (Report of proceedings of fifth annual conference of Canadian Institute of International Affairs, May, 1938, 29-42).

SOWARD, F. H. *Canada and the Americas* (Canadian papers 1938, series A, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 23-48). Records discussions on regional organization for peace in the western hemisphere and the possibility of Canadian participation.

STACEY, C. P. *Canadian defence policy* (C.J.E.P.S., IV (4), Nov., 1938, 490-504; abbreviated and revised version of *New trends in Canadian defence policy*, Canadian papers 1938, series A, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 55-72, mimeo.). Contains valuable factual information with regard to the re-armament programme of the King government and attempts to relate this programme to the world situation.

TROTTER, REGINALD G. *Which way Canada?* (Queen's quarterly, XLV (3), autumn, 1938, 289-99; also mimeographed in Canadian papers, 1938, series A, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 49-54). An inquiry concerning Canadian-American relations and Canada's commonwealth policy.

WOODSIDE, WILLSON. *Who threatens Canada?* (Canadian magazine, XC (4), Oct., 1938, 26-7, 58).

### III. HISTORY OF CANADA

#### (1) General History

BUCHANAN, RUSSELL. *Theodore Roosevelt and American neutrality, 1914-1917* (American historical review, XLIII (4), July, 1938, 775-90). The author traces the development of Roosevelt's opinions on the Great War and the part that he believed the United States should play in it.

CARTER, CLARENCE EDWIN (comp. and ed.). *The territorial papers of the United States*. Vol. VI: *The territory of Mississippi, 1800-1817* (cont.). Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1938. Pp. [vii], 893. (\$1.50) These papers discuss such topics as the land problem, the organization of local governments, Indian affairs, and the extension of federal services, such as the post office, into the Mississippi Territory. There is also some material on Spanish activities in Florida. There is nothing in the volume which pertains directly to the history of Canada. [R. O. MACFARLANE]

*The colonial problem: A report by a study group of members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.* London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xiv, 448. (\$6.50)

CROCKETT, WALTER HILL. *A history of Lake Champlain: A record of more than three centuries, 1609-1936.* Burlington, Vt.: McAuliffe Paper Co. [1937.] Pp. xvi, 320. (\$2.50) First published 1909. To be reviewed later.

FISH, CARL RUSSELL. *The American Civil War.* Ed. by WILLIAM ERNEST SMITH. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1937. Pp. xi, 531. (\$4.00) See p. 411.

GELBER, LIONEL M. *The rise of Anglo-American friendship: A study in world politics, 1898-1906.* London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. [x], 292. (\$357.) To be reviewed later.

SMALLWOOD, J. R. (ed.). *The book of Newfoundland.* 2 vols. St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers. 1937. Pp. xl, 486; xvi, 531. To be reviewed later.

VAN DEUSEN, GLYNDON G. *The life of Henry Clay.* Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1937. Pp. xii, 448. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.

VAN DOREN, CARL. *Benjamin Franklin.* New York: Viking Press [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada]. 1938. Pp. xxii, 845. (\$4.25) To be reviewed later.

WERTENBAKER, THOMAS JEFFERSON. *The founding of American civilization: The middle colonies.* New York, London: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1938. Pp. xvi, 367. (\$3.00) To be reviewed later.

WHEELER, L. RICHMOND. *Newfoundland to-day* (United empire, XXIX (10), Oct., 1938, 464-70). An historical and economic review.

*The world book.* British Empire ed. General ed., HAROLD SHELTON; ed. for Canada in dominions volume, LAWRENCE J. BURPEE. 10 vols. Toronto: W. F. Quarrie and Co. [1937]. Pp. 5818. (\$49.50) See p. 434.

## (2) Discovery and Exploration

BRANCHI, CAMILLUS E. *The birth of America: A contribution to the history of America.* New York: Vigo Press. 1937. Pp. 62. "With this monograph, the author intends to summarize the result of many years of extensive research, both in this country and abroad, concerning the date in which Christopher Columbus set foot on the New World."

## (3) New France

BURPEE, LAWRENCE J. *Trailing Jacques Cartier* (Canadian National magazine, XXIV (11), Nov., 1938, 10-1, 31). The writer follows Cartier's course around the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1534, and up the river in 1535, and contrasts "what he saw then with what we find today".

*Le Château de Ramezay et ses hôtes: Extrait d'un ouvrage en cours de publication, par Maître Victor Morin* (Association Belgique-Canada, no. 30, oct., 1938, 627-9). A brief biographical account of Claude de Ramezay, who became governor of Montreal in 1704, and a record of events relating to the château after his death in 1724.

COOLIDGE, GUY OMERON. *The French occupation of the Champlain valley from 1609 to 1759.* (Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society, n.s., VI (3), Sept., 1938.) Pp. 143-313. (75c.) To be reviewed later.

FALARDEAU, EMILE. *Les pionniers de Longueuil et leurs origines, 1666-1681.* Montréal: G. Ducharme, 995 rue St.-Laurent. 1937. Pp. 187. (\$1.50) This genealogical study of Longueuil deals with the pioneers who lived in the parish during the first

fifteen years of its existence, from 1666 to 1681. The study presents a variety of detailed factual information concerning each of the original settlers; and so thoroughly has Mr. Falardeau done his work that he has discovered the birthplace in old France of all but five of the 264 pioneers who are enumerated in his list. The author is a distinguished representative of that group of Quebec scholars who have done so much to unravel the family histories of the founders of New France.

*Father Louis Hennepin's description of Louisiana: Newly discovered to the southwest of New France by order of the king.* Translated from the original edition by MARION E. CROSS. With an introduction by GRACE LEE NUTE. (Minnesota Society of the Colonial Dames of America.) Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press. 1938. Pp. xxii, 190. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.

HUGUENIN, MADELEINE G. *Portraits de femmes.* Montréal: Editions La Patrie. 1938. Pp. 273. Contains brief sketches of a number of women who played an important part in the early history of French Canada.

JAMES, ALFRED P. *The nest of robbers* (Western Pennsylvania historical magazine, XXI (3), Sept., 1938, 165-78). An account of activities at Fort Duquesne during the last years of the French régime, 1755-8.

LANGLOIS, GEORGES. *A study of the French settlement of Canada* (Congrès international de la population, Paris, 1937, 49-60). Examines reasons for failure to populate Canada soon after its discovery, the slight attraction of the area to French settlers, and the conditions in France leading to colonization.

LARKIN, SARAH. *Radisson.* Trois-Rivières: Les Editions du Bien Public. 1938. Pp. 147. (\$1.00) A poetic drama based on the life of Pierre-Esprit Radisson.

RIOTOR, LÉON. *Jacques Cartier et le voyage au Canada: Chronique de la Nouvelle-France.* (Collection "Les grands découvreurs".) Paris: Editions Pierre Roger. 1937. Pp. 242. (\$1.20) This book deals with dramatic events in the history of New France surrounding such figures as Cartier, Champlain, Montcalm, and Papineau and also contains the author's comments on present-day Canada.

ROY, CAMILLE. *Le centenaire de La Vérendrye* (Canada français, XXVI (2), oct., 1938, 114-22). The second centenary of the discovery of Manitoba by La Vérendrye is the occasion for this brief account of his life and a plea for recognition of French-Canadian minority rights as a means of attaining national unity.

WEBSTER, JOHN CLARENCE (ed.). *Diary of John Thomas; Journal of Louis de Courville.* (Journals of Beauséjour.) Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia. 1937. Pp. 54. Dr. Webster in this small volume has added another contribution to the remarkable work he has done for the history of the Maritime Provinces. The two journals here printed make eight touching on the conflict in Chignecto between the French and British between 1750 and 1755 which have been published through Dr. Webster's instrumentality. These two have been previously printed but in inaccessible form and with inadequate editing. Thomas was a surgeon-mate in the first battalion of the colonial force under Colonel Monckton. Courville, whose authorship of the journal has only recently been established, was royal notary of Acadia with headquarters at Beauséjour. [G. W. BROWN]

WILSON, CLIFFORD P. *La Vérendrye 200 years ago* (Beaver, outfit 269, no. 2, Sept., 1938, 42-3).

WROTH, LAWRENCE C. *The Jesuit relations from New France* (Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, XXX (2), 1936, 110-49). A description of "Jesuit relations", the series of annual letters of the Jesuit missionaries of New France, published from 1632 to 1673.

**(4) British North America before 1867**

- ALFRED, Brother. *The Honourable John Elmsley, legislative and executive councillor of Upper Canada (1801-1863)* (Canadian Catholic Historical Association report, 1936-7, 23-40). John Elmsley's part in the advancement of Catholic work in Toronto and his association with events concerning the Rebellion of 1837 are discussed in this article.
- CARVER, P. L. *Wolfe to the Duke of Richmond* (University of Toronto quarterly, VIII (1), Oct., 1938, 11-40). Eight previously unpublished letters from Wolfe to the third Duke of Richmond, 1755-8, deal principally with affairs of the army. The eighth, written from Louisbourg, is of particular interest.
- CRUIKSHANK, E. A. *The Navy island memorial* (Welland County Historical Society, Papers and records, V, 1938, 108-14). An address delivered Oct., 1938, on the occasion of the unveiling of a memorial to Navy island in the Niagara river, which was used as a base for operations in the Canadian rebellion, 1837.
- DICKERSON, OLIVER MORTON (comp.). *Boston under military rule, 1768-1769 as revealed in A journal of the times*. Boston: Chapman and Grimes [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders]. 1936. Pp. xiv, 137. (\$4.00) This is a careful reproduction of a journal of daily occurrences in Boston between September, 1768, and August, 1769, written anonymously by extreme opponents of the British government's policy. The journal was a powerful instrument of propaganda since it was published in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston papers and also widely circulated in England. It makes clear the rising bitterness in Boston which culminated in the episode of the Boston "massacre". The journal has been little used by historians. The value of the book is increased by a short but informative introduction and an extensive index.
- FILTEAU, GÉRARD. *Histoire des patriotes*. Tome I: *L'explosion du nationalisme*. (Documents historiques.) Montréal: Editions de l'A. C.-F. 1938. Pp. 227. See p. 424.
- GREGG, KATE L. *The War of 1812 on the Missouri frontier*. Part I (Missouri historical review, XXXIII (1), Oct., 1938, 3-22).
- History of the Ordinance of 1787 and the old Northwest Territory*. (A supplemental text for school use.) Prepared under the direction of a committee representing the states of the Northwest Territory, the Federal Writers' Project cooperating. Marietta, Ohio: Northwest Territory Celebration Commission. 1937. Pp. 95. This little book contains an account of the establishment of civil government in the old Northwest Territory out of which was created later the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota. A bibliography is included and an interesting pictorial map is attached.
- HUDON, THÉOPHILE. *L'Institut canadien de Montréal et l'affaire Guibord: Une page d'histoire*. Montréal: Bechenmin. 1938. Pp. 173. (75c.) To be reviewed later.
- IBBOTSON, JOSEPH D. *Samuel Kirkland, the Treaty of 1792, and the Indian barrier state* (New York history, XIX (4), Oct., 1938, 374-91). Outlines Canadian plans for an Indian barrier state, and the activities of Samuel Kirkland among the Indians from 1790 to 1792.
- MCCOY, RAYMOND. *The massacre of old Fort Mackinac*. Bay City: Privately printed. 1938. Pp. 90. This romantic tale contains a reconstruction of the fort as it was about the time of the Indian massacre of 1763.
- MACKAY, DOUGLAS and LAMB, W. KAYE. *More light on Thomas Simpson* (Beaver, outfit 269, no. 2, Sept., 1938, 26-31). A note on his Arctic explorations and an attempt at a solution of his mysterious death.

- NOLAN, J. BENNETT. *General Benjamin Franklin: The military career of a philosopher*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. London: Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. 1936. Pp. [x], 101. (\$1.50) This is a detailed account of a little-known episode in Franklin's career—an expedition under his command sent in 1755 to protect settlements in western Pennsylvania against Indian attacks following Braddock's defeat.
- O'CONOR, NORREYS JEPHSON. *A servant of the crown in England and in North America, 1756-1761*. Based upon the papers of JOHN APPY, secretary and judge advocate of his majesty's forces. A publication of the Society of Colonial Wars in the state of New York. New York, London: D. Appleton-Century Co. [Toronto: Ryerson Press]. 1938. Pp. xii, 256. (\$3.50) See p. 419.
- Old Fort Michilimackinac*. Reproductions of two maps from the papers of General Thomas Gage in the William L. Clements Library with a reconstructed drawing of the fort by RAYMOND MCCOY, and a foreword by KENNETH ROBERTS. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1938. Pp. 12. (50c.) Includes a short historical account of the fort.
- OSKISON, JOHN M. *Tecumseh and his times: The story of a great Indian*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1938. Pp. xii, 244. See p. 422.
- PEASE, THEODORE C. *The Ordinance of 1787* (Mississippi valley historical review, XXV (2), Sept., 1938, 167-80). An appraisal of the place of this document in American history.
- PIERCE, DONALD J. *The Rebellion of 1837 and political liberty: The meaning and value of responsible government in Canada* (Canadian Catholic Historical Association report, 1936-7, 72-82). An examination of certain aspects of the early Canadian Reform movement and its outcome.
- QUAIFE, MILO MILTON (ed.). *Narratives of the adventures of Zenas Leonard, written by himself*. (Lakeside classics.) Chicago: Lakeside Press, R. R. Donnelley and Sons Co. 1934. Pp. xxiv, 278. Leonard's narrative recounts his activities as a fur trader west of the Mississippi between 1831 when he left St. Louis and 1835. His account is primarily concerned with the American west but he has references to the buffalo, the Hudson's Bay Company, the Blackfeet and Crow Indians, the Columbia river, which are of interest to students of western Canada's history.
- RICHARD, J.-B. *Les événements de 1837 à Saint-Denis-Sur-Richelieu*. (Documents Maskoutains, no. 2.) Saint-Hyacinthe, P.Q.: Société d'Histoire Régionale de Saint-Hyacinthe. 1938. Pp. 48.
- ROBERTS, KENNETH (comp.). *March to Quebec: Journals of the members of Arnold's expedition*. Compiled and annotated by the author during the writing of *Arundel*. New York, Toronto: Doubleday, Doran and Co. 1938. Pp. xiv, 657. (\$2.25) To be reviewed later.
- ROSS, FRANK E. *The fur trade of the western great lakes region* (Minnesota history, XIX (3), Sept., 1938, 271-307). An interesting account of fur-trading activities from the time of Champlain down to 1854 when the American Fur Company was dissolved.
- SCOTT, JOHN ALBERT. *Joseph Brant at Fort Stanwix and Oriskany* (New York history, XIX (4), Oct., 1938, 399-406). Throws new light on military operations in the Mohawk valley in the summer of 1777.
- WALLACE, W. S. *A soldier-scientist in the north-west* (Queen's quarterly, XLV (3), autumn, 1938, 394-400). A note on the experiences of John Henry Lefroy in the Canadian north-west, 1843-4.
- WHITELEY, EMILY STONE. *Washington and his aides-de-camp*. New York: Macmillan Co. [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada]. 1936. Pp. [xii], 217. (\$2.50) An intimate picture of Washington's staff during the course of the American revolutionary war.

## (5) The Dominion of Canada

- BORDEN, HENRY (ed.). *Robert Laird Borden: His memoirs*. Introduction by ARTHUR MEIGHEN. 2 vols. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1938. Pp. xviii, 1061. (\$10.00 the set) To be reviewed later.
- BRADY, ALEXANDER. *The critical problems of Canadian federalism* (American political science review, XXXII (5), Oct., 1938, 957-65).
- Canada, Dominion bureau of statistics; Department of trade and commerce. *The Canada year book, 1938: The official statistical annual of the resources, history, institutions, and social and economic conditions of the dominion*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1938. Pp. xlii, 1141. (\$1.50) Some of the changes made in the new *Year book* are of interest to students of history. A section is added on historic sites and monuments. Lists are given of the lieutenant-governors since confederation, the dates of provincial legislatures, and the personnel of their ministries. There is a short section on labour legislation, with some historical material. The volume is slightly larger than last year.
- Canada, *Dominion of, Report of the Public Archives for the year, 1936*. (GUSTAVE LACOTOT, keeper of public records.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1937. Pp. xxvi, 399-598. (\$1.00) Among the acquisitions listed in the *Report* for 1936 are materials on La Salle, La Vérendrye, and Bigot, together with the collection of Dr. C. N. Bell of Winnipeg, which contains documents relating to the history of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company. The appendix to the *Report* continues the calendar of *Series G*; it contains a detailed analysis of the dispatches addressed by the colonial secretaries to the lieutenant-governors of Upper Canada during the crucial years 1836-8.
- Distribution and destiny of Canadian genius* (United empire, XXIX (10), Oct., 1938, 443-9). Attempts to classify the names of those men who have had a definite influence on Canada's development.
- DOUGLAS, C. L. MONTEATH. *Problems of Canadian unity* (Report of proceedings of fifth annual conference of Canadian Institute of International Affairs, May, 1938, 43-66). A discussion of the internal features which foster or impede Canada's national unity and the effect on her commonwealth relations.
- DREW, GEORGE A. *Canada's armament mystery* (Maclean's magazine, LI (17), Sept. 1, 1938, 8-9, 32-5). An inquiry into the Bren machine gun contract, March, 1938, which provided for the private manufacture in Canada of primary implements of war.
- GREEN, JAMES FREDERICK. *Canada's political problems* (Foreign policy reports, pub. by Foreign Policy Association, New York, Sept. 15, 1938, 146-56).
- JENKINS, JOSEPH. *The Canadian constitution* (Municipal review of Canada, XXXIV (4), April, 1938, 24-6). The author sees the need for only a few minor amendments to the B.N.A. Act.
- LANDERY, CHARLES. *So what? A young man's odyssey*. London, Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1938. Pp. xii, 305. (\$2.75) This is the story of the travels of a young man, part of which were in Canada. His impressions are superficial, but throw some light on the problems and temporary occupations of an unemployed wanderer.
- MCGEACHY, J. B. *One country or nine?* (Maclean's magazine, LI (18), Sept. 15, 1938, 11, 44-5). Comments on the evidence placed before the Rowell commission.
- *Provinces and dominion* (Canadian papers 1938, series B, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1-13a). Considers the principal political and economic problems which confront the Rowell commission.

- MCINNES, GRAHAM. *Is Canada a nation?* (Queen's quarterly, XLV (3), autumn, 1938, 342-52). An extensive journey from coast to coast has convinced the author that a strong spirit of unity exists throughout Canada.
- McKINLEY, MABEL BURNS. *Famous men and women of Canada.* (The maple leaf series.) London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1938. Pp. [vi], 128. (60c.)
- MARSH, D'ARCY. *Democracy at work: The machinery of parliament hill and the civil service.* (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation publications.) Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1938. Pp. [vi], 100. (75c.) It is of the nature of broadcast talks that they are better on the air than on the printed page, but these published broadcasts are none the less attractive and informative. They deal with various functions of the Canadian federal government, such, for instance, as the civil service, police, railways, Indian administration, defence, foreign policy, and natural resources. They are informal in character, free of statistics, and contain, together with the principal facts about the federal government, many odds and ends of interesting information. [R. G. RIDDELL]
- MORTON, ARTHUR S. *History of prairie settlement.* MARTIN, CHESTER. "Dominion lands" policy. (Canadian frontiers of settlement, ed. by W. A. MACKINTOSH and W. L. G. JOERG, vol. II.) Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1938. Pp. xviii, 571 (Morton, 1-186; Martin, 191-571). (\$4.50) "Dominion lands" policy also printed separately. To be reviewed later.
- Relations between English and French Canadians* (Canadian papers 1938, series B, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 14-9).
- RICHER, LÉOPOLD. *Notre problème politique.* (Documents politiques.) Montréal: Editions de l'A. C.-F. 1938. Pp. 157. To be reviewed later.
- SCOTT, W. L. *Sir Richard Scott, K.C. (1825-1913)* (Canadian Catholic Historical Association report, 1936-7, 46-71). Discusses the part played by Sir Richard Scott in the government of Canada under the Macdonald and Laurier governments.
- SIMARD, GEORGES. *Le Canada d'aujourd'hui et de demain* (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, VIII (2), avril-juin, 1938, 141-65). The relationship of the French and English races in Canada is discussed.

#### (6) The Great War

- HOWARD, H. C. *Canada's costly mistakes in the Great War* (Saturday night, Sept. 10, 1938, 2). An inquiry as to how Canada erred in the general conduct of her war administration.
- *How to avoid mistakes in Canada's next war* (Saturday night, Sept. 17, 1938, 2).
- MICHEL, JACQUES. *La participation des Canadiens français à la grande guerre.* Réponse à un livre récent de M. André Siegfried: *Le Canada, puissance internationale.* (Documents sociaux.) Montréal: Editions de l'A. C.-F. 1938. Pp. 192. See p. 428.

### IV. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

#### (1) The Maritime Provinces

- BARNSTEAD, ARTHUR S. *Development of the office of provincial secretary, Nova Scotia* (Collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society, XXIV, Halifax, 1938, 1-31).
- COPP, WALTER RONALD. *Military activities in Nova Scotia during the War of 1812* (Collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society, XXIX, Halifax, 1938, 57-74).



- ENTREMONT, H. LEANDER D'. *The forts of Cape Sable of the seventeenth century*. Centre East Pubnico, N.S.: The author. 1938. Pp. 106. (50c.) This pamphlet has been written to prove that the fort built by Charles de Saint-Etienne de La Tour was on the Sand Hills on the east shore of Barrington bay, and not at Port Latour where a cairn and tablet were unveiled in 1937.
- EVANS, R. D. *Stage coaches in Nova Scotia, 1815 to 1867* (Collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society, XXIV, Halifax, 1938, 107-34).
- FOWLER, BERTRAM B. *The lord helps those . . . How the people of Nova Scotia are solving their problems through co-operation*. New York: Vanguard Press. 1938. Pp. x, 180. The story of the movement that has come out of St. Francis Xavier University.
- GRAHAM, GERALD S. *The gypsum trade of the Maritime Provinces* (Agricultural history, XII (3), July, 1938, 209-23). Discusses its relation to American diplomacy and agriculture in the early nineteenth century.
- GRANT, MARGUERITE H. L. *Historical sketches of hospitals and alms houses in Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1749 to 1859* (Nova Scotia medical bulletin, XXVII (4, 5, 8), April, May, Aug., 1938, 229-38; 294-304; 491-512).
- LAURIE, MARGARET. *Oakfield and its founder* (Collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society, XXIV, Halifax, 1938, 175-90). A biographical sketch of General John Wimburn Laurie who settled in Nova Scotia in 1865.
- MARTELL, J. S. *Military settlements in Nova Scotia after the War of 1812* (Collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society, XXIV, Halifax, 1938, 75-105).
- MORSE, WILLIAM INGLIS. *Supplement to local history of Paradise, Annapolis county, Nova Scotia (1684-1938)*. Boston: Nathan Sawyer and Son, 144 High St. 1938. Pp. [xiv], 79. (\$2.50) To his previous booklet on *Local history of Paradise* (Boston, 1937), the well-known Nova Scotian author and collector, Dr. Morse, has added some interesting material including the early schools and their courses, lists of property assessments, account-books of prices, letters, and diversified information on community life. Enriched with numerous photographs, the booklet adds materially to our knowledge of conditions in early settlement in Nova Scotia. [G. L.]
- Nova Scotia Historical Society. *Collections*. Vol. 24. Halifax, N.S.: Imperial Publishing Co. 1938. Pp. xviii, 190. The papers printed herein are listed separately in this bibliography.
- A tour of Nova Scotia cooperatives: Report of conference-tour under the auspices of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A. and the Extension Department of St. Francis Xavier University*. New York: Cooperative League of the U.S.A. Pp. 48. (20c.)
- VICKERY, EDGAR J. *Communion tokens* (Collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society, XXIV, Halifax, 1938, 155-73). Sketches the history of communion tokens, particularly in relation to their use in early Nova Scotia.
- WILLIAMS, RELIEF. *Poor relief and medicine in Nova Scotia, 1749-1783* (Collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society, XXIV, Halifax, 1938, 33-56).

## (2) The Province of Quebec

- BAUDOUIN, JOSEPH. *Notre bilan-vie: Essai d'étude sur le capital humain de la province de Québec* (Action universitaire, V (2), oct., 1938, 6-8). Population statistics in Quebec and a comparison with other groups in Canada.
- BOSWELL, HAZEL. *French Canada: Pictures and stories*. New York: Viking Press [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada]. 1938. Pp. 82. (\$2.00) A delightfully illustrated little book of sketches of French-Canadian life; for children.

- BROSSEAU, JEAN-DOMINIQUE. *Saint-Jean-de-Québec: Origine et développements*. St.-Jean, P.Q.: Le "Richelieu", 112, rue St.-Jacques. 1938. Pp. 317. This local history of Saint John, P.Q., deals not only with the early political history of the town, but also with its first land grants and settlers, its churches, schools, and industries. The volume has obviously been written out of a detailed knowledge of the subject; and it contains a number of interesting documents relating particularly to parish history and land grants, which are printed in full in the text.
- DESROCHERS, RENÉ. *Le Sault-Au-Récollet: "Paroisse la Visitation", 1736-1936. Fêtes du 2ème centenaire*. Montréal. 1936. Pp. 160. Deals with the religious and civil history of the parish and also gives a brief account of early exploration in the region.
- GÉRIN, LÉON. *Le type économique et social des Canadiens: Milieux agricoles de tradition française*. (Science sociale.) Montréal: Editions de l'A. C.-F. 1937. Pp. 221. (\$1.00) To be reviewed later.
- HARVEY, JEAN-CHARLES. *What Quebec thinks of Canada* (Canadian magazine, XC (1), July, 1938, 3-4, 37).
- L'histoire du Saguenay: Depuis l'origine jusqu'à 1870*. Tome I. (Publication de la Société Historique du Saguenay, no. 3.) Edition du Centenaire. Chicoutimi: La Société Historique du Saguenay. 1938. Pp. 331. This history of the Saguenay country, published on the occasion of the centenary of the settlement of the region, is the co-operative work of the members of the local historical society. It is simply and succinctly written and contains a wealth of factual information on all phases of the development of the region. The authors obviously have the advantage of a thorough personal knowledge of the locality and its traditions; but, in addition, they have made considerable and effective use of documentary sources.
- Notre américanisation: Enquête de la Revue Dominicaine (1936)*. Montréal: L'Oeuvre de Presse Dominicaine. 1937. Pp. 269. (75c.)
- QUINN, H. F. *The bogey of fascism in Quebec* (Dalhousie review, XVIII (3), Oct., 1938, 301-8). An examination of the Quebec political scene shows that there is little danger of fascism there.
- ROBERTS, LESLIE. *Quebec as a neighbour* (Canadian magazine, XC (2), Aug., 1938, 12, 29-30). A friendly presentation of the French Canadian as the British Canadian sees him.
- SCOTT, J. H. MACCALLUM. *Beaten tracks*. London: John Gifford. 1938. Pp. [vi], 288. (12s., 6d.) Piquant observations of two travellers to North and South America with a brief reference to Quebec and Montreal.
- Statistical year book, Quebec, 1937. (Annuaire statistique.)* Quebec: King's Printer. 1938. Pp. xxxii, 480. Several important items have been added to the present edition of the *Year book*. A new section in the chapter pertaining to population classifies, according to occupation, the population of ten years of age and over, gainfully occupied at June 1, 1931. A table showing registration and the number of votes cast at the 1936 provincial elections, a list of the members of the legislative assembly for each district, since 1867, and a brief summary of the old age pension plan complete the chapter devoted to administration. The system under which the Quebec farm credit functions is also concisely described in the agriculture section.
- (3) The Province of Ontario**
- BENOIST, EMILE. *L'Abitibi pays de l'or*. (Collection du Zodiaque Deuxième.) Montréal: Editions du Zodiaque. 1938. Pp. 207. (\$1.00)
- BUCKLAND, GEORGE. *An agricultural tour of Welland county in 1856* (Welland County Historical Society, Papers and records, V, 1938, 214-21).

- CRUIKSHANK, E. A. *The old fort at Fort Erie* (Welland County Historical Society, Papers and records, V, 1938, 91-107). See review, p. 428.
- *The settlement of the township of Fort Erie, now known as the township of Bertie* (Welland County Historical Society, Papers and records, V, 1938, 18-90). See review, p. 428.
- DUFF, LOUIS BLAKE. *Samuel Chandler of St. Johns* (Welland County Historical Society, Papers and records, V, 1938, 115-49). See review, p. 428.
- GEARY, R. W. *The story of the old earthwork forts on Queenston Heights* (Welland County Historical Society, Papers and records, V, 1938, 150-2).
- GREEN, ERNEST. *The fearful 'forties in Welland county* (Welland County Historical Society, Papers and records, V, 1938, 163-72). Deals with the canal explosion at Allanburg, 1841, and the narrowly-averted conflict between Toronto Orangemen and Irish labourers on the Welland canal, 1844.
- *The men of Welland county in the War of 1812-14* (Welland County Historical Society, Papers and records, V, 1938, 180-2). See review, p. 428.
- *Souvenirs of an old family* (Welland County Historical Society, Papers and records, V, 1938, 173-9). Documents of the Thomson family, who settled in Stamford early in the nineteenth century, contribute to the local history of the Niagara frontier.
- *War-clouds over the Short Hills* (Welland County Historical Society, Papers and records, V, 1938, 153-62). Tells of a scheme, which never materialized, to erect a strong military stronghold in the Short Hills, Niagara peninsula, in the 1820's.
- LENHART, J. A. *German Catholics in Ontario* (Canadian Catholic Historical Association report, 1936-7, 41-5). An account of German Catholic settlement in Waterloo and Bruce counties in Ontario following the wave of immigration from 1827 to 1860.
- MORDEN, JAMES C. *Falls View bridges and Niagara ice bridges*. LESLIE, W. BRUCE. *Collapse of Falls View bridge and ice jam of 1938*. Niagara Falls, Ont.: F. H. Leslie. 1938. Pp. 24. (25c.)
- REIVE, W. G. *Cemeteries and graves in the Niagara district* (Welland County Historical Society, Papers and records, V, 1938, 183-91).
- Report of the first survey for the Welland canal* (Welland County Historical Society, Papers and records, V, 1938, 232-7).
- SMITH, GEORGE H. *The street names of Port Colborne* (Welland County Historical Society, Papers and records, V, 1938, 192-8).
- STEVENSON, O. J. III. *The covered wagon* (School, Ontario College of Education, XXVII (3), Nov., 1938, 203-7). This article continues his series on the early history of the Grand river, which was begun in the issue of October, 1938.
- UTTLEY, W. V. (Ben). *A history of Kitchener, Ontario*. Waterloo: Chronicle Press. 1937. Pp. 434. See p. 427.
- WENGER, JOHN C. *History of the Mennonites of the Franconia Conference*. Telford, Penn.: Franconia Mennonite Historical Society. 1937. Pp. xvi, 523. (\$2.25) Students of Mennonite history in Ontario will find occasional references to Canadian Mennonites.
- WELLS, GEORGE. *Welland when young* (Welland County Historical Society, Papers and records, V, 1938, 199-213).

#### (4) The Prairie Provinces

- The case for Alberta*. Part I: *Alberta's problems and dominion-provincial relations*. Part II: *The urgent need for social and economic reform*. Edmonton, Alta.: King's Printer. 1938. Pp. 378, xiv; 68, iv.

COLE, GEORGE E. *The mineral resources of Manitoba*. Winnipeg: Economic Survey Board, Province of Manitoba. June, 1938. Pp. [xi], 195, [vi] (mimeo.).

ELLIS, J. H. *The soils of Manitoba*. Winnipeg: Economic Survey Board, Province of Manitoba. 1938. Pp. 112.

McWILLIAMS, MARGARET. *The British dominions: Canada*. IX: *Manitoba* (English-speaking world, XX (9), Sept., 1938, 465-70). An historical, geographical, and economic survey of Manitoba.

*Pioneers in poverty: Some facts for western Canadians today*. By the Winnipeg branch of the League for Social Reconstruction. Winnipeg: Garry Press. 1938. Pp. 72. (30c.) The situation in the west in relation to the present capitalist economy.

WALKER, GERTRUDE E. *Romantic Winnipeg*. 1938 ed. Winnipeg: The Author, 211 The Ambassador. 1938. Pp. 68. A small, illustrated guide-book.

#### (5) British Columbia and the North-west Coast

British Columbia, Coal and petroleum products commission. Vol. I: *Report of the commissioner, the Hon. Mr. Justice M. A. Macdonald, relating to the petroleum industry*. Vol. II: *Report of the commissioner . . . relating to the coal industry*. Victoria: King's Printer. 1937. Pp. xxviii, 332; xl, 422.

GREEN, GEORGE. *Some pioneers of light and power* (British Columbia historical quarterly, II (3), July, 1938, 145-62). Traces the development of electric power in British Columbia from 1883.

HOWAY, F. W. (ed.). *Letters concerning voyages of British vessels to the northwest coast of America, 1787-1809* (Oregon historical quarterly, XXXIX (3), Sept., 1938, 307-13).

JACOBS, MELVIN CLAY. *Winning Oregon: A study of an expansionist movement*. Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers. 1938. Pp. 261. (\$3.00)

REID, ROBIE L. *Captain Evans of Cariboo* (British Columbia historical quarterly, II (4), Oct., 1938, 233-46). A biography of Captain John Evans, who led a band of adventurers from Wales to Cariboo in the early days of British Columbian history.

SMYTH, FRED J. *Tales of the Kootenays*. With historical sketches by the author and others. Cranbrook, B.C.: The Courier. 1938. Pp. 205. (\$2.00 cloth; \$1.50 paper) To be reviewed later.

WAGNER, HENRY R. and NEWCOMBE, W. A. (eds.). *The journal of Jacinto Caamaño*, trans. by Captain HAROLD GRENFELL (British Columbia historical quarterly, II (3 and 4), July and Oct., 1938, 189-222; 265-301). Tells of the discoveries and surveys effected by Caamaño, a Spaniard, on the north-west coast of America in the 1790's.

WICKERSHAM, JAMES. *Old Yukon: Tales—trails—and trials*. Washington, D.C.: Washington Law Book Co. 1938. Pp. xii, 514. (\$4.00) To be reviewed later.

#### (6) North-west Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions

BLANCHET, GUY H. *Pioneer surveys* (Beaver, outfit 269, no. 2, Sept., 1938, 44-7). Describes the work of survey parties in northern Canada.

GODSELL, PHILIP H. *Red hunters of the snows: An account of thirty years' experience with the primitive Indian and Eskimo tribes of the Canadian north-west and Arctic coast, with a brief history of the early contact between white fur traders and the aborigines*. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1938. Pp. 324. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.

GRAHAM, R. D. *Rough passage: Being the narrative of a single-handed voyage to Newfoundland, Labrador, and Bermuda in the seven-ton yacht Emanuel and the subsequent return to England with a soldier crew.* With an introduction by CLAUD WORTH. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1937. Pp. xiv, 236. To be reviewed later.

LEBOURDAIS, D. M. *The self-sustaining north* (Canadian magazine, LXXXIX (6), June, 1938, 16, 37). A note on the economic possibilities of Canada's northland.

SMITH, EDWARD H., SOULE, FLOYD M., and MOSBY, OLAV. *The Marion and General Greene expeditions to Davis strait and Labrador sea, under direction of the United States Coast Guard, 1928-1931-1933-1934-1935.* Scientific results. Part 2: Physical oceanography. (U.S. treasury department, Coast guard, bulletin no. 19.) Washington. 1937. Pp. vi, 260. (75c.)

STAINER, JOHN. *A canoe journey in Canadian Labrador* (Geographical journal, XCII (2), Aug., 1938, 153-8). The account of a small expedition of Englishmen who set out in the summer of 1937 for the purpose of finding some lake which might be used as a base for an aerial survey and of making a collection of birds and insects, flowers, and soil specimens.

TYRRELL, EDITH. *I was there: A book of reminiscences.* With an introduction by J. E. MIDDLETON. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 131. (\$2.00) To be reviewed later.

WEAD, FRANK. *Gales, ice and men: A biography of the steam barkentine Bear.* New York, Toronto: Dodd, Mead and Co. 1937. Pp. xiv, 272. (\$3.25) To be reviewed later.

## V. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

### (1) General

Canada, Department of trade and commerce, Dominion bureau of statistics, General statistics branch. *Economic fluctuations in Canada during the post-war period.* Issued as a supplement to the *Monthly review of business statistics*, Jan., 1938. Ottawa. 1938. Pp. xxxix, 116. (25c.)

CLARK, S. D. *The Canadian Manufacturers' Association: A political pressure group* (C.J.E.P.S., IV (4), Nov., 1938, 505-23).

*Industrial relations: Papers presented at a conference on industrial relations sponsored by Queen's University, September 14-17, 1938.* (Industrial relations section, School of Commerce and Administration, Queen's University, Kingston.) Kingston: Jackson Press. 1938. Pp. viii, 119. Includes discussions on: "Industrial relations and the university" by W. A. MACKINTOSH; "Collective bargaining in Canada" by J. FINKELMAN; "Industrial retirement plans"; "Minimum wage and fair wage legislation"—"Recent developments in Ontario and Quebec" by H. W. MACDONNELL, and "The economic aspect" by V. F. COE; "Wage determination" by W. F. COOK; "Employee training plans"; and "Work-sharing during a depression".

*Industrial retirement plans in Canada.* Bulletin no. 1. (Industrial relations section; School of Commerce and Administration.) Kingston: Queen's University. 1938. Pp. viii, 115. (\$1.00)

MACKINTOSH, MARGARET. *An outline of trade union history in Great Britain, the United States and Canada. With special emphasis on the causes leading to the present division in the Canadian labour movement.* (Canada, Department of labour.) 1938. Pp. 30 (mimeo.).

MACKINTOSH, W. A. *Canadian tariff policy* (Canadian papers 1938, series A, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 92-103).

- PARKINSON, J. F. *A review of economic and financial conditions in Canada, April, 1938* (Canadian papers 1938, series A, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 73-91). With special reference to the role of the Bank of Canada.
- Report of the royal commission on the textile industry.* Ottawa: King's Printer. 1938. Pp. 308. (75c.).
- Report of the royal commission to investigate the penal system of Canada.* Ottawa: King's Printer. 1938. Pp. vi, 418. (\$1.00)
- ROBBINS, J. E. *Dependency of youth.* (Census monograph no. 9; reprinted from vol. XIII, *Seventh census of Canada, 1931.* Dominion bureau of statistics.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1937. Pp. 71. (35c.)
- ROSS, P. D. *Whither our capitalistic civilization?* (Maclean's magazine, LI (19), Oct. 1, 1938, 18, 38-9). A review of the Canadian economic system concludes that "betterment goes on so vigorously that no revolution is necessary".
- R[OY], P. G. *La Quebec Bank* (B.R.H., XLIV (10), oct., 1938, 316-7). A brief account of the founding and early history of the Quebec Bank which commenced operations in 1818 and received its charter in 1822.
- SCOTT, F. R. *The C.C.F. in convention* (Canadian forum, XVIII (212), Sept., 1938 166-7).
- WARD, G. H. *The promotion of Anglo-Canadian trade* (Industrial Canada, XXXIX (6), Oct., 1938, 41-3). Outlines the policy of the Canadian chamber of commerce in Great Britain.
- Welfare services for the Canadian people.* Submission of the Canadian welfare council to the royal commission on dominion-provincial relations. Ottawa: Council House. 1938. Pp. [viii], 58.
- (2) Immigration, Emigration, Colonization, and Population**
- Aliens in foreign countries* (Archiv für Wanderungswesen, IX (4), 1937-8, 159-61). Includes Japanese in Canada.
- GROSSMANN, VLADIMIR. *The soil's calling.* With foreword by LOUIS FITCH. Montreal: Eagle Publishing Co. 1938. Pp. 128. (\$1.00) The author examines the problem of Jewish emigration to the land, and points to the small numbers of Jews in Canada. He believes the dominion to be under-populated and looks forward to large-scale migration. Without much understanding of the whole problem of immigration to Canada, he attributes the lack of Jewish settlers to French-Canadian opposition.
- MACGIBBON, D. A. *Population policies: The economic policies necessary to implement them* (Canadian papers 1938, series A, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1-16). Contends that methods by which Canada may enlarge her population are bound up with policies designed to increase the prosperity of the country.
- MACINTOSH, MACGREGOR F. *The oriental problem in British Columbia* (McGill news, XIX (4), autumn, 1938, 25-7, 39). Reviews the history and the social and economic effects of the problem and proposes a solution.
- STEWART, HERBERT L. *Should Canada provide sanctuary for European refugees?* (Canadian magazine, LXXXIX (6), June, 1938, 12, 40-1).
- WOODSIDE, WILLSON. *Refugee problem challenges Canada* (Saturday night, Nov. 5, 1938, 2). Encourages Canada to admit Sudeten German and Czech immigrants.

YOUNG, CHARLES H. and REID, HELEN R. Y. *The Japanese Canadians*. With a second part on "Oriental standards of living" by W. A. CARROTHERS. Edited by H. A. INNIS. (Published under the auspices of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene; the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.) Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1938. Pp. xxx, 295. (\$2.25) See p. 429.

### (3) Transportation

DILLABOUGH, J. V. *Transportation in Manitoba*. Winnipeg: Economic Survey Board. May, 1938. Pp. [xii], 134, [x] (mimeo.).

KIMBALL, FRANCIS P. *New York—The canal state: The story of America's great water route from the lakes to the sea, builder of east and west, with a discussion of the St. Lawrence Treaty*. Introduction by the Hon. WILLIAM W. WOOLLARD. Albany, N.Y.: Argus Press. 1937. Pp. xx, 105. A popularly written historical account of the canal system of New York, prepared with the purpose of demonstrating the superiority of the New York route over the proposed St. Lawrence deepening scheme. An introduction is supplied by the president of the New York State Waterways Association.

LAMB, W. KAYE. *The advent of the "Beaver"* (British Columbia historical quarterly, II (3), July, 1938, 168-84). Recalls the circumstances attending the construction, by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1835, of the first steamer to ply the north Pacific.

MACK, G. EDMUND. *The Nascopie* (Beaver, outfit 269, no. 2, Sept., 1938, 5-9). Personal reminiscences of the earliest voyages of the Hudson's Bay Company's supply ship to the eastern Arctic.

ROBERTS, LESLIE. *Change here for railway prosperity* (Canadian magazine, XC (3), Sept., 1938, 27-9, 69). Advocates the establishment of a central, non-political control to deal with Canada's railway problem.

## VI. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

HARVEY, D. C. *An introduction to the history of Dalhousie University*. Halifax: McCurdy Printing Co. 1938. Pp. 110. See p. 425.

LIDDY, R. B. *The need for a national bureau of educational research* (Queen's quarterly, XLV (3), autumn, 1938, 309-18). A proposal to aid in solving Canada's educational problems.

MACLAURIN, D. L. *Education before the gold rush* (British Columbia historical quarterly, II (4), Oct., 1938, 247-63). Notes and documents concerning colonial schools in what is now British Columbia.

MARSH, HELEN. *They want to know* (Maclean's magazine, LI (22), Nov., 1938, 24, 49-51). A survey of adult education in Canada.

SHAW, L. W. *Problems of school organization and administration in Newfoundland and Labrador* (Canadian school journal, XVI (10), Oct., 1938, 338-41, 365).

SILLS, K. C. M. *A comradeship in culture* (Dalhousie review, XVIII (3), Oct., 1938, 343-7). An address delivered at Dalhousie University, Aug. 16, 1938, at the unveiling of the Halifax-Castine tablet. Money for the founding of a college at Halifax (later Dalhousie University) was supplied by customs duties and shipping fees collected by the Halifax-Castine expedition which set out for New England, Aug., 1814.

TAMBLYN, WILLIAM FERGUSON. *These sixty years*. London, Ont.: University of Western Ontario. 1938. Pp. iv, 135. To be reviewed later.



## VII. RELIGIOUS HISTORY

BURNS, JOHN E. *The Abbé Maillard and Halifax* (Canadian Catholic Historical Association report, 1936-7, 13-22). By examining the will of the Abbé Maillard preserved in the Court House at Halifax, the author attempts to throw some light on the life of this French missionary who came to Louisbourg in 1735 and after its fall resided in Halifax till his death in 1762.

GRONDIN, FRANÇOIS-XAVIER. *Marie de l'Incarnation, la "Seconde Sainte Thérèse"* (B.R.H., XLIV (10), oct., 1938, 302-9). Attempts to indicate the probable author of the title "The Second Sainte Thérèse" as applied to Marie de l'Incarnation and includes a bibliography of Marie and the Ursulines.

POULIOT, LÉON. *Le père Nicolas Point (1799-1868): Collaborateur du P. de Smet dans les montagnes Rocheuses et missionnaire en Ontario* (La Société canadienne d'histoire de l'église catholique, rapport, 1936-7, 20-30). An account of his work as superior of the Ste-Croix mission on Manitoulin island from 1848 to 1855 and of his activities in Sandwich and Quebec until his death in 1868.

SEXTON, JOHN E. *Massachusetts' religious policy with the Indians under Governor Bernard: 1760-1769* (Catholic historical review, XXIV (3), Oct., 1938, 310-28). Also refers to British religious policy in Acadia.

SILCOX, CLARIS EDWIN. *Protestant-Catholic relations in Canada: Address at the Canadian Institute of Economics and Politics, Lake Couchiching, Ontario, August 11, 1938*. Toronto: United Church Publishing House. 1938. Pp. 32. (25c.) The Protestant point of view presented and the major points of conflict summarized in such a way that those factors which disturb national unity may be clearly envisaged.

## VIII. GENEALOGY

MACDONALD, HUGH N. *Macdonald and Mackinnon families: A biographical sketch*. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Whycomagh, N.S.: The author, Box 53. 1937. Pp. 32. (65c.) The author, an 82-year-old Cape Breton doctor, has produced an interesting genealogical account of these two families who emigrated from Scotland to America in 1820 and settled at Lake Ainslie, Nova Scotia.

RITCHIE, MARY C. *The beginnings of a Canadian family* (Collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society, XXIV, Halifax, 1938, 135-54). A genealogical account of the Ritchie family, for many years prominent in the public life of Nova Scotia.

## IX. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Canada, Department of public printing and stationery, division of documents. *Catalogue of official publications of the parliament and government of Canada, June, 1937*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1937. Pp. 114.

*Canadian periodical index*. Prepared by the staff of the circulation department of the University of Toronto Library. This valuable guide to Canadian periodicals is published quarterly in the *Ontario library review*, commencing May, 1938. It will be cumulated annually and issued as a reprint.

COX, EDWARD GODFREY. *A reference guide to the literature of travel: Including voyages, geographical descriptions, adventures, shipwrecks and expeditions*. (University of Washington publications in language and literature, vols. 9 and 10.) Vol. I: *The old world*. Vol. II: *The new world*. Seattle, Washington: University of Washington. 1935; 1938. Pp. x, 401; viii, 591.

EWART, ALISON. *Bibliography of current publications on Canadian economics* (C.J.E.P.S., IV (4), Nov., 1938, 607-18). Includes sections on agriculture, forestry and related industries, industry, labour, social conditions, and general works.

GILROY, MARION (comp.). *A catalogue of maps, plans and charts in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia*. (Bulletin of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, I (3).) Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia. 1938. Pp. 95. A valuable guide, organized geographically, and clearly arranged and printed.

HAMILTON, R. M. *Quebec government publications to 1841* (Ontario library review, XXII (2), May, 1938, 82-4).

MACDONALD, J. B. *Rural library service in Canada* (Ontario library review, XX (2), May, 1938, 90-2).

*A reference list of manuscripts relating to the history of Maine*. Part I. (University of Maine studies, second series, no. 45; directed by ELIZABETH RING. Maine bulletin, XLI (1), Aug., 1938, xx, 427). This reference list of manuscripts is the result of a survey which was sponsored by the department of history of the University of Maine and financed by the federal emergency relief administration of the United States. In scope the survey was limited to documents in private collections and those deposited in public libraries; and no archive materials, therefore, are included in the reference list. Scattered through the volume are listed a number of documents relating to the history of the British North American provinces which may be of interest to Canadian historians. In part I of the survey, here under review, a geographical arrangement of the material has been adopted; but in part II, the documents will be listed according to subject headings and this will provide a more effective guide for students.

TALMAN, JAMES J. *The treasure room: III. Province of Ontario archives* (Canadian bookman, XX (3), Aug.-Sept., 1938, 11-3). Draws attention to some of the larger groups of material preserved in the Ontario archives.

## X. ART AND LITERATURE

*Golden tales of Canada*. Selected with an introduction by MAY LAMBERTON BECKER. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1938. Pp. xiv, 274. (\$2.50) An Anthology.

LAPIERRE, EUGÈNE. *Calixa Lavallée: Musicien national du Canada*. (Série Albums canadiens.) Montréal: Editions de L'A.C.-F. 1937. Pp. 214. See p. 426.

PRATT, E. J. *Canadian poetry—past and present* (University of Toronto quarterly, VIII (1), Oct., 1938, 1-10).

*Recent Canadian art* (United empire, XXIX (9), Sept., 1938, 402-10).

ROBSON, ALBERT H. *Clarence A. Gagnon, R.C.A., LL.D.* (Canadian artists series.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1938. Pp. 32. (Cloth \$1.00; paper 50c.)

——— *Paul Kane*. (Canadian artists series.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1938. Pp. 32. (Cloth \$1.00; paper 50c.) The Ryerson Press is to be congratulated on its Canadian artists series to which these two attractive booklets are the latest additions. Brief biographies are followed by coloured reproductions of a number of the artists' works, accompanied by critical descriptive notes.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

*(The contribution of information suitable for this section is welcomed.)*

### HISTORY IN A WORLD OF CRISIS

Conceptions of historical scholarship which a generation ago were accepted throughout the western world almost as axioms have now in country after country been thrown without apology into the discard. In the face of totalitarian demands and repeated crises which are producing mental attitudes usually associated with a state of war, history is being ruthlessly made the slave of propaganda by bitter proponents of conflicting ideologies and interests. Historical writing never was, or perhaps could be, as objective as historians of the nineteenth century thought it might be; but after every reasonable concession is made to that argument, it still remains true that an international fraternity of historical scholars was being developed with some common ground of broad conclusions and, even more important, with some recognition of common principles. There was developing what might be termed an historical conscience which required that, even if writers could not free themselves entirely from prejudices or preconceptions, they could at least be honest in their use of historical evidence. Today for scholarship in the sense we have known it, there is being substituted without shame in many places a spurious scholarship whose sole concern it is to bolster up some theory or dogma however ridiculous. It is not only the integrity of history that is menaced. The threat is being made against honesty and freedom of thought wherever they have been found and it bids fair to engulf our world in a rising tide of intellectual barbarism.

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### THE PRESENT SITUATION IN LOCAL AND PROVINCIAL HISTORY

The course in Canadian history which has this year been introduced as part of the revised curriculum in the high schools of Ontario, provides that an investigation of some phase of the history of the local community should be an integral part of the work in each class. This is an innovation which should in time have significant results, since an interest in the schools will encourage a wider interest in historic sites and buildings, historical museums, and the preservation by the local community of municipal records, newspaper files, and collections of diaries and private papers. Libraries, historical societies, provincial archives, and other agencies will doubtless be asked to co-operate with the schools, and should profit by the demands made upon them. Local history should provide pupils in the schools not with a body of facts to be learned but with a field for investigation. Approached in this sense it may give a more vivid sense of reality to the study of Canadian history in general, and it may make clear that in the local community is to be found the basis for those larger loyalties demanded by modern life.

In this connection it is worth noting that, to an increasing extent, a number of agencies, organizations, or individuals with a wide range of activities have occasion to use local history or promote an interest in it. Among them may be mentioned government departments, such as departments of highways with their interest in tourist traffic, or departments whose work touches local administration with its historical background, the universities and schools, historical societies, newspapers, libraries, the radio. The reasons why people working through these different

organizations or agencies are concerned at one time or another with the history of the province and local community are widely varied, but there is, in the long run, at least one common interest—to preserve and make available for study and observation source-materials in the form of buildings of historic significance, museum collections, and collections of manuscripts, newspaper files, and official records. If the influence of everyone concerned could for a short time be focused on this common interest a revolution of improvement could be brought about in a situation which at present is in most respects discouraging in the extreme. It is not necessary or desirable to advocate any elaborate or expensive programme in order to make a beginning of constructive effort, but it is equally the case that it seems at times almost impossible to bring the influence of the various interested parties to bear on the common problem. It is to be hoped that the signs of increasing interest mentioned above are a reliable forecast of improvement in the near future.

What has been said above with special reference to Ontario applies to most of the other provinces. As pointed out by this journal from time to time there have been, however, some encouraging exceptions to the general situation. Excellent progress has been made in recent years in British Columbia and Nova Scotia. Quebec for many years has led the way in encouraging an interest in local and provincial history through its archives. The museum in St. John has made a valuable contribution in New Brunswick, and within the last year a carefully considered policy for the establishment of a provincial archives has been adopted in Saskatchewan.

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DR. H. P. BIGGAR

Henry Percival Biggar, who died at his home near Woking, Surrey, England, on July 25 last, was born at The Carrying Place, near Trenton, Ont., on August 9, 1872. He was the son of James Lyons Biggar, who represented East Northumberland in the legislative assembly of the United Province of Canada and afterwards in the house of commons of the dominion. His mother was Isabel, daughter of William Hodgins, of Dublin, Ireland, and sister of Dr. John George Hodgins, deputy minister of education of Ontario, and Dr. Thomas Hodgins, M.L.A. for West Elgin, master-in-ordinary of the supreme court of Ontario, and judge of the court of admiralty.

He was educated at Belleville High School, Upper Canada College, and the University of Toronto, graduating in 1894. He had been editor of the *College times* at Upper Canada College, and at the university was editor of *Varsity*, 1893-4. He held an Alexander Mackenzie fellowship in 1900-2. He did post-graduate work at the University of Berlin, at the Sorbonne, Paris, and at New College, Oxford, where he received the degree of B.Litt. in 1899. Honorary degrees received by him included LL.D. from Queen's University, 1924; D.Litt. from the University of Toronto, 1927; and D.Litt. from the University of Oxford, 1927.

Dr. Biggar devoted himself in particular to the study of the history of early discovery, exploration, trade, and settlement in Canada, and carried on extensive research work in English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese documentary sources. In 1901 his *The early trading companies of New France* was published in the "University of Toronto studies in history" and attracted wide attention. It was natural, therefore, that when Arthur G. Doughty (afterwards Sir Arthur) was appointed dominion archivist in 1904 and the Archives branch placed on a new and expanded

basis, Mr. Biggar should be selected to have charge of the work of the Archives in Europe. He was appointed March 8, 1905, and continued in that position until his death. From 1920 he held the title of chief archivist of Canada in Europe. His wide knowledge of the depositories of Europe, his meticulous scholarship, and his high sense of responsibility, resulted in raising both the research work and the copying done by the Archives offices in London and Paris to the highest standard of efficiency. The mass of beautifully and accurately executed transcripts of documents and maps in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, the Archives Nationales, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and many other collections, which have poured into the Archives building in Ottawa for more than thirty years, is his invaluable endowment to all future Canadian historical learning.

His chief publications have been those editions of rare and important documents which are now fundamental for all study of the discovery and the beginnings of the exploration of Canada. The Public Archives published in 1911 *The precursors of Jacques Cartier, 1497-1534: A collection of documents relating to the early history of the Dominion of Canada*; in 1924, *The voyages of Jacques Cartier published from the originals with translations, notes and appendices*; and in 1930, *A collection of documents relating to Jacques Cartier and the Sieur de Roberval*. The Champlain Society, of Toronto, published *The works of Samuel de Champlain . . . reprinted, translated and annotated by six Canadian scholars under the general editorship of H. P. Biggar*, 6 vols. and a portfolio of maps (Toronto, 1922-36). He co-operated with W. L. Grant in bringing out the Champlain Society's edition of *The history of New France by Marc Lescarbot*, 3 vols. (Toronto, 1907-14). He also contributed a considerable number of articles to learned periodicals, most noteworthy being, perhaps, "The voyages of the Cabots and the Corte-Reals to North America and Greenland, 1497-1503", in *Revue hispanique*, tome X, pp. 485-593, which aroused much discussion by its attempt to elucidate the second Cabot voyage.

Dr. Biggar was a member of the executive of the American Historical Association, 1923-5, and vice-president of the Royal Historical Society, 1926-9. Hundreds of Canadians and Americans who have studied in Europe will retain memories of his kindly personality and keen interest in their work. Although primarily the historical scholar, he maintained other associations: he was an officer of the Inns of Court Reserve Corps, 1914-9; a member of the committee of the London Hospital for Diseases of the Throat, Nose and Ear, 1910-24; and a member of the committee of the English-speaking Union since 1924. (JAMES F. KENNEY)

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#### BOOK-NOTES FOR TEACHERS

(These notes are of necessity selective. Suggestions will be appreciated.)

Charles A. Beard, writing in *Social education*, September, 1938, introduces a thought-provoking article on social studies in the schools as follows: "There seems to be a decided tendency among teachers of the humanistic subjects to discard history as a kind of old almanac and to concentrate upon events of the day or, perhaps it would be more correct to say, events of the last few days. . . . This tendency is, in my opinion, wholesome in many respects. It reveals a growing interest in public affairs and a desire to come to grips with pressing issues of our time. It also represents a healthy revolt against the political and military history that almost monopolized for many years the thought of historians, especially those who wrote for the schools. . . . Yet the tendency to throw history away or treat

it as a kind of convenient nuisance raises doubts in my mind. Does it represent a widening and enriching of knowledge and thought? Do the substitutes offered give pupils a more realistic understanding of the world in which they are to live and work? If the prime end of education is to enrich personalities and help prepare them for life and labour in their times and circumstances, can this be done best by instruction essentially concerned with current systems of thought and current events? And, finally, is this the best methodology, the best way of giving pupils an insight into great issues of life and society and into the manner of considering them? For many reasons I have arrived at negative answers to these questions. . . . I have been all along deeply interested in current affairs, in present day systems at work, in the issues of the hour. . . . Nevertheless in the lengthening shadows of a long and busy life, I am more convinced than ever that social studies which discard or minimize history are superficial in the worst sense of that word, dilute rather than enrich thought, and give pupils a false perspective of life itself and even the very subjects taught."

Teachers of English history will welcome two recent publications on the social and economic aspects of British history. The first is a revised and cheaper edition of *Lord Shaftesbury* by J. L. and Barbara Hammond (Toronto, Longmans, Green, 1936, xii, 323 pp., \$2.00), a shorter but more objective study than J. Wesley Bready's well-known book on the same subject. Although Shaftesbury's whole career is presented, greatest emphasis is placed upon his work for the reform of the factory system. The source-material, particularly that chosen from the report of Michael Sadler's select committee on factory children's labour, is full and illuminating. A good contemporary survey of public social organizations is *Report on the British social services* (London, Political and Economic Planning, 16 Queen Anne's Gate, 1937, 211 pp., 7s., 6d.). This is a factual but graphic study of the whole subject and a discussion of the underlying principles and problems prepared by "more than a hundred . . . industrialists, distributors, officers of local and central government, university teachers and so forth". The following topics, among others, are dealt with: national health insurance, unemployment insurance, contributory pensions, workmen's compensation, and labour exchanges. Other reports issued by the same association are *The British cotton industry* (6s., postage extra) and *The British coal industry* (cloth, 10s., 6d.; paper, 7s., 6d.). [DOUGLAS M. BROWN]

*A guide to historical literature* edited by G. M. Dutcher (New York, Macmillan, 1937, xxx, 1222 pp.). A manual of historical literature prepared by a competent committee of historians at the instigation of the American Historical Association. It is divided into 26 sections on a partly chronological, partly geographical basis. Under each section there are groups of references as in the section on ancient Greece and the hellenistic world: bibliographies, encyclopedias; atlases; source-books; general histories; histories on special periods; constitutional; economic; social; cultural history; biographies; periodicals. There is a critical analysis of the value of each book, often supplemented by excerpts from other reviews. It includes all the important books published before 1931.

To this guide-book should be added the two standard manuals of historical fiction: E. A. Baker, *A guide to historical fiction*, and J. Nield, *A guide to the best historical novels*. Here too there is both a chronological and a geographical division of material with an indication of the content of the novels, and an evaluation of their worth. All three of these books should be regarded as essential to any school library. They will be of the greatest value in saving time and trouble for teachers

and students in search of appropriate reading for history. In respect to the guides to historical novels no teacher needs to be reminded of the inestimable worth of getting school children to read good historical novels. Through such reading is the easiest way, perhaps, for us all to get the "feel" of a period, the atmosphere of an age.

*An intellectual and cultural history of the western world* by H. E. Barnes (New York, Random House [Toronto, Macmillan], 1937, xx, 1250 pp., \$5.50). In its twelve hundred pages this book deals with human cultural development from the earliest origins to the present. Necessarily broad and general it is a very convenient compendium of information on the rise of science, the arts, the idea of progress, the development of religion, tolerance, and related topics. It has useful bibliographies. It would be a valuable reference book for teachers, and for students who are preparing essays or discussions. Professor Barnes has views on many things which will be disliked but for that very reason should encourage debate and the presentation of other points of view. [R. M. SAUNDERS]

*French Canada: Pictures and stories* by Hazel Boswell (New York, Viking Press [Toronto, Macmillan], 1938, 82 pp., \$2.00). No review, short or long, can do justice to this delightful book. It must be seen to be appreciated and it should be seen by readers of all ages. The spirit of French Canada, past and present, comes alive in its text and above all in its pictures. This book will have a permanent interest and value in any school library which aims at building up a collection on Canada's life and history.

*European history atlas: Ancient, medieval and modern European and world history* by James Henry Breasted, Carl F. Huth, and Samuel Bannister Harding (eds.) (adapted from the large wall maps; Chicago, Denoyer-Geppert Co., 1937, lxiv, 48 pp.). The fifth and revised edition of this useful low-priced students' atlas contains 48 maps, half of them on ancient and medieval history, an index, and extensive explanatory notes on each map. The names in small type are somewhat difficult to read owing to their reduction from wall-map size.

*Legends of the longhouse: Told to Sah-Nee-Weh the white sister* by Jesse J. Cornplanter, with an introduction by Carl Carmer (New York, Toronto, Lippincott, 1938, 217 pp., \$2.00). These Seneca legends, recounted by a chief of the tribe, are charmingly and simply written and illustrated.

The following titles have also come to our attention. (Mention here does not preclude a later and lengthier notice): J. A. COCHRANE, *The story of Newfoundland* (Boston, London, Montreal, Ginn and Co., 1938, vi, 257 pp., \$1.00). W. S. HERRINGTON, *Pioneer life among the loyalists* (Toronto, Macmillan, 90c.). MABEL BURNS MCKINLEY, *Famous men and women of Canada* (Toronto, Longmans, Green, 1938, [vi], 128 pp., 60c.). C. W. PROSSER and MARGARET SHARP, *A short constitutional history of England* (Toronto, Longmans, Green, 1938, xvi, 260 pp., \$1.50). DENIS RICHARDS, *An illustrated history of modern Europe, 1789-1938* (Toronto, Longmans, Green, 1938, xvi, 334 pp., \$1.35). L. W. WHITE, *Industrial and social revolution, 1750-1937* (Toronto, Longmans, Green, 1938, vi, 308 pp., \$1.50).

#### CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

*The Algonquin Club* is an association of history lovers in the Detroit river area. The membership is catholic in outlook, numerous callings, various religions, half a dozen cities, and two nations being represented. The club is issuing, in mimeograph form, bulletins of interesting and well-edited source-material. The first



issued in April, 1937, contained several important documents dealing with the battle of Frenchtown. Bulletin no. 2, "From Niagara to Mackinac in 1767", was edited for the club by Professor F. Clever Bald of the Detroit Institute of Technology. Publication committee: M. M. Quaife and C. C. Ritze of Detroit and George F. Macdonald of Windsor.

*Argenteuil County Historical Society.* The historical society of Argenteuil county has made excellent progress during recent months. By an arrangement with the dominion government, the Old Barracks at Carillon are being restored and made available to the society for an historical and educational museum. On October 22 a loan exhibition was held, in preparation for which the society issued a printed circular with many excellent suggestions of articles which would be acceptable. It is to be hoped that the society will succeed in its aim of creating a centre of historical interest. Honorary president, Mr. A. Kains; president, Dr. H. B. Cushing; secretary-treasurers, Miss B. Robertson, Mrs. Walter Windsor, St. Andrews East, P.Q.

*The British Columbia Historical Association* held its annual meeting on November 19 in the Provincial Archives, Victoria. Professor Sage, the retiring president, gave his address on the early political developments of British Columbia with special reference to responsible government and the admission of the province into confederation. The association has been very successful in its effort to stimulate interest in historical activities. Dr. R. L. Reid has made a special contribution in this connection, and excellent work has been done through co-operation with the Provincial Archives. Great credit is due Dr. Kaye Lamb, not only for his work as archivist, but for the high standard attained by the *British Columbia historical quarterly* under his direction. Officers: president, Dr. J. S. Plaskett; vice-president, Kenneth Waites; treasurer, E. W. McMullen; secretary, Mrs. M. R. Cree; archivist, Dr. R. L. Reid.

*British Columbia Historical Association, Vancouver Section.* The second annual meeting was addressed by Dr. R. L. Reid, the retiring president, on the subject of "Captain Evans, M.L.A. of Cariboo", one of the earliest men to draw attention to the value of quartz deposits in the province. At a meeting on November 24 a paper was read by Judge Forin on the "History of lode-mining in the Kootenays" beginning with the earliest example on Toad mountain near Nelson in 1886 and continuing with interesting first-hand material to the developments around Trail. The society reports a membership of some 220 and a very active interest in all aspects of this work. Officers: president, J. R. V. Dunlop; secretary, Helen R. Boutilier, 980 West 22 ave.; vice-president, D. A. McGregor; treasurer, K. A. Waites.

*British Columbia Historical Association, Victoria Section.* At the meeting on June 14, Mrs. W. Curtis Sampson gave an account of her father, J. D. Pemberton, the first surveyor-general of British Columbia. On September 27, the present surveyor-general addressed the meeting on "Forty years surveying in British Columbia". The presidential address by Dr. Rickard was given at the meeting on November 4 on "The use of iron and copper by the Indians of the north west". Evidence was presented that iron which originated in Japan came to the Indians on driftwood. The paper is to be published in the *British Columbia historical quarterly*. The section has concluded a very successful year. Officers: president, John Goldie; vice-president, J. B. Munro; honorary secretary, Mrs. M. R. Cree; honorary treasurer, Miss M. Wolfenden.

*The Champlain Society* has issued its thirty-first annual report, covering the

year 1937. The first volume of the new Hudson's Bay Company series, Simpson's *Athabaska journal* is being published in December. The society has entered into an agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company, whereby these volumes will be issued as publications of the Champlain Society, and the members of the society will receive all the volumes of this series in due course. Since, however, there are many persons interested in the history of the Hudson's Bay Company who are not members of the Champlain Society, the society has agreed to hand over to the Hudson's Bay Company a limited number of volumes for distribution among the members of the newly-formed Hudson's Bay Record Society. These volumes will be issued in a binding distinct from that of the Champlain Society. It is also announced that the edition of Sagard's *Grand voyage* will be ready for distribution in the winter of 1938-9. President, Sir Robert Falconer; secretaries, H. C. Walker and W. Stewart Wallace; treasurer, H. H. Langton; assistant secretary-treasurer, Miss Julia Jarvis. Correspondence should be addressed to the society in care of the University of Toronto Library.

*The Historical Association of Annapolis Royal.* At its meeting on August 29 there was unveiled a tablet which was placed by the historic sites and monuments board on the site of a fort erected to lodge one hundred Mohawks who fought as allies of the British against the Micmacs in 1712. Professor D. C. Harvey, the archivist of Nova Scotia, gave an address. At the twentieth annual meeting on November 8, a report was given by Colonel Eaton on the completion of the archaeological survey of the site of the *Habitation* built in 1605 at old Port Royal, now Lower Granville. The dominion government has purchased this site and the preliminary work of investigation was carried through by C. C. Pickney of Boston; Mrs. F. Richardson of Boston, historian and secretary of the Port Royal Associates in the United States; C. W. Jefferys of Toronto; K. D. Harris of Ottawa, representing the dominion government; and Colonel E. K. Eaton of the Historical Association of Annapolis Royal. The foundations and other remains of various buildings have been identified including the "hall of good cheer". It is a matter of congratulation that this important historical site should be receiving the careful consideration which it deserves. Officers: honorary president, Dr. J. Clarence Webster, Shediac, N.B.; president, Lt.-Col. Fred W. Harris; 1st vice-president, T. H. H. Fortier; 2nd vice-president, Miss H. Laura Hardy; secretary, Mrs. Fred C. Gilliat; treasurer, Walter C. Delaney; life directors, Mrs. J. W. Thompson, Lt.-Col. F. W. Harris, Lt.-Col. E. K. Eaton, Annapolis Royal.

*The London and Middlesex Historical Society* reports progress in the classification and indexing of the documentary material relating to the early history of the London district. This work is being done through the co-operation of the local welfare department, under the supervision of the secretary of the society. The society played an active part in preparations for the London old boy's reunion and is now planning an historical exhibit, to be shown at the western fair in London this fall. In the last three months, over two hundred presentations of historical material have been made to the society's museum which will shortly be stored in the proposed new Williams Memorial Public Library and Museum, in London. President, Dr. Edwin Seaborn; secretary, H. Orlo Miller, 712 Colborne street, London; treasurer, Professor Fred Landon.

*The Nova Scotia Historical Society* has published vol. XXIV of its *Collections*. The volume and the papers printed therein are listed, and commented upon, in our List of recent publications relating to Canada.

*Okanagan Historical Society.* President, Gilbert C. Tassie; vice-presidents,

John C. Goodfellow, Joseph B. Weeks, Frank M. Buckland; editor, Elsie J. Foote; treasurer, Leonard Norris; secretary, Max H. Ruhmann; auditor, Albert E. Berry.

*The Royal Society of Canada* held its fifty-seventh meeting in Ottawa in May, 1938. President, Victor Morin; vice-president, H. M. Tory; honorary secretary, Arthur Beauchesne, House of Commons, Ottawa; honorary treasurer, H. C. Cooke; honorary librarian, G. A. Young; honorary editor, W. S. Wallace.

*The Saskatchewan Historical Society* held its annual meeting in Regina on September 13, 1938. During the past year the society has collected a great deal of valuable material including three letters written by Louis Riel to members of his family at critical times in his life and a photostat copy of 150 pages of notes made by Judge Richardson at the time of Riel's trial. A systematic attempt is being made to collect names of pioneer settlers in all parts of the province and to obtain information from them. Branches of the association are being formed in various parts of the province. Officers: president, J. A. Gregory, M.L.A.; secretary, Z. M. Hamilton, Normal School, Regina.

*Similkameen Historical Association.* The annual meeting was held in the Orange hall, Princeton, B.C., on September 15. This seventh annual gathering of old-timers of the valley was the best attended in the association's history. Nearly 200 sat down to supper. All points from Penticton to Hope were well represented. Many of the old-timers spoke briefly, and addresses were given by the Rev. E. S. Gilbert of Princeton and the Rev. J. Wesley Miller of Keremeos. A. E. Howse of Princeton continues as honorary president; S. R. Gibson, president; Mrs. E. M. Daly of Keremeos and W. H. Holmes of Coalmont, vice-presidents, and the Rev. J. C. Goodfellow, secretary. Gratifying reports of the year's work were well received. [JOHN GOODFELLOW, secretary]

*La Société Historique du Saguenay* has had a fine record of accomplishment during the past year including the publication of *L'histoire du Saguenay . . . depuis l'origine jusqu'à 1870* (see review p. 446) and of the history of the parish of *Saint-Alexis de Grande-Baie* by the abbé Louis-Eugène Otis; the organization of the fifth regional meeting for historical research by students on holiday; the acquisition of several important documents, over one hundred museum pieces, three hundred volumes, ninety historical photographs, and the records of the recollections of some forty old people. Active steps are being taken to restore the ruins of the post at Métabetchouan and to study the archaeology of the region between Tadoussac and Métabetchouan. The headquarters of the society is in the Séminaire de Chicoutimi, Chicoutimi, P.Q.

*Thompson Valley and District Historical and Museum Association.* The executive of the association has followed last season's plan of keeping open the historic Hudson's Bay Fort building to citizens and tourists. Situated in Riverside park, at the junction of the North and South Thompson rivers, 250 miles east of Vancouver, B.C., the early Hudson's Bay Company architecture attracts much attention. From a newly found photograph (buried away in a trunk) in Victoria, showing the famed Indian Hudson's Bay Company employee, Jean Baptiste Lolo St. Paul and his family in front of an identical building, in the year 1865, and from the fact that the re-erected building came from St. Paul's land on the present Indian reservation, local historians believe the building was one used by the company previous to the year 1820.

The fort at Kamloops now houses over 600 early photographs of the city and district, a mass of historical booklets and papers on the interior of British Columbia, ancient guns, mounted birds of the district, and valuable Indian relics.

The Hudson's Bay Company has donated and lent early maps, tools, and relics of trading days. The association opens the Museum on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings during the summer and welcomes visitors. Members of the Association give information on the history of the Thompson river district and have gathered a wealth of biographical sketches on pioneers, and other valuable information. Among recent acquisitions is the unpublished diary of Redgrave of the overland party of 1862. President, J. J. Morse; secretary, G. D. Brown, 543 Battle St., Kamloops, B.C.

*The Waterloo County Historical Society* has recently requested that the old Registry Office be made available to house its collections, the present quarters in the basement of the public library of Kitchener being entirely inadequate. The society now has an outstanding collection of museum pieces, manuscripts, newspaper files, and other materials, and is carrying on active work for its enlargement, partly with a view to co-operating with the schools in their work on local history. At the recent annual meeting announcement was made by A. R. G. Smith of New Hamburg of the discovery of an Indian village site near Baden. More than six hundred pieces have been recovered from it. Officers: president, H. W. Brown; vice-president, W. J. Motz; secretary-treasurer, Peter Fisher, Kitchener; council, D. N. Panabaker, Miss B. M. Dunham, W. H. Breithaupt.

*The York Pioneer and Historical Society* has published its annual report for 1937 including a full list of members, a programme of its meetings, and an address delivered by the Rev. C. W. Watch, on the life and times of William Lyon Mackenzie. President, Dr. Emerson Ball, Lambton Mills, Ont.; secretary, N. F. Caswell, 24 Spruce Hill road, Toronto.

#### ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

*American Antiquarian Society.* The society has recently published a guide which will be of interest and value to Canadian students. The great resources of the society's library are well known but it is perhaps not realized how much material has been collected which bears directly upon Canadian history. Of special importance is the very large collection of newspapers, which includes unique eighteenth-century files as well as some of the modern Canadian newspapers in both French and English. The library is rich in material on the American Revolution and the War of 1812. The guide also refers to its collections of Canadian maps and prints, book plates, and almanacs.

*Hamilton, Ontario, Private Collection.* Henry Harris, in his bibliography of New France, 1545-1700, lists 187 items. Of these a private collection reported by the Hamilton Public Library has 58, the outstanding rarities being Biard, *Relation*, 1616; and *Les véritables motifs*, 1643. Of the former there are five other perfect and three imperfect copies known, and the latter is known by six copies only. There are also in the collection: Champlain, *Les voyages*, 1613, and *Voyages et découvertes*, 1627, both with original maps and plates; Sagard, *Le grand voyage*, 1632, and *Histoire*, 1636; Denys, *Description*, 1672; Le Clerc, *Etablissement de la foy*, 1691; and 36 of the 41 Jesuit *Relations* and two variants, one the rare Avignon edition of the *Relation* for 1634-5, of which the latest bibliography records four other copies, and the Latin edition of 1648-9, issued in 1650. Other references to the Jesuits in Canada are found in two volumes of the *Annuae litterae* of 1611 and 1612 and in the set of 25 volumes of the *Mercure françois* to 1648. Of books relating to the Indians, the finest is the Maximilien, *Travels in North America*, with German and English text and the two volumes of coloured plates; the rarest, a

copy of Rogers's *Ponteach* as issued, and a copy of Brown and Gilmore's *Nehiro-Iriniui*, 1797. There is also a small collection of Indian captivities beginning 1720. Relating to Hudson bay, Oregon, and the west, there are the more familiar books of James, Umfreville, Hearne, Robson, Franchère, Selkirk, Mackenzie, Meares, Vancouver, Ross, and others. Of the French war there are: Gibson's *Journal*, 1745; three French news sheets, 1755, 1756, and 1757 giving accounts of Braddock's campaign, the capture of Oswego and of Fort George; Bradstreet's *Expedition to Fort Frontenac*, 1759; *Journal of the siege of Quebec*, 1759; and *London gazettes* from the taking of Louisbourg to that of Montreal. Mante's *History*, Knox's *Campaign*, and others are found in fine copies. Works relating to Upper Canada begin with a copy of Patrick Campbell's *Travels*, 1793, and cover travels, emigration, the War of 1812, the Rebellion of 1837, some early printing, and a long run of the *Gore gazette*, 1827-8-9. Among the Americana there are: *Cosmographie introductio*, 1509; Las Casas, *Treatises*, 1552-3; Thevenot, *Receuil de voyages*, 1681, and a number of the originals of works reprinted by Thwaites in his *Early western travels*. The collection, formed since 1924, has some of the gaps filled by reprints.

The *Hudson's Bay Company's Historical Exhibit* in its Winnipeg store was thoroughly revised, fresh historical material incorporated, and the exhibit reopened to the public after being closed for a month this spring. Organized in 1922, this exhibit was enlarged and reorganized in 1937. It contains objects relative to the history of the fur trade in Canada, especially within the Hudson's Bay Company. It is divided into the following sections: founding of the company; early forts on Hudson bay; North West Company; Mackenzie river area; Selkirk settlers; Sir George Simpson; Eskimo and Arctic; Plains Indians; Pacific coast transportation; life in the posts; after 1870; Fort Garry and Winnipeg; twentieth century; replica of northern trading post. The company is co-operating with the historic sites and monuments board, and its representatives, Judge F. W. Howay of New Westminster, in the formal ceremony at the September unveiling of the cairn established at Norway House on Lake Winnipeg. The company has granted to the historic sites and monuments board, land at York Factory on Hudson bay for the erection of a similar cairn.

*National Archives of the United States.* The third annual report of the archivist for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1937, contains much interesting information with regard to the establishment and administration of the Archives and the methods of handling various types of historical materials. It also includes the regulations governing the use of records in the Archives and a guide to all material accessioned up to June 30, 1937, with references to existing inventories and bibliographical aids.

The Archives is very wisely attempting through the press and its own publications, to explain the nature and importance of its work to the general public. An informative little pamphlet entitled *How the National Archives serves the government and the public* was issued in July.

In co-operation with Columbia University the Archives has arranged for a graduate course for the training of archivists. Dr. Solon J. Buck, director of publications in the Archives, will conduct the course which begins at the university this autumn, and a limited number of the students will also be given opportunities for advanced study at the Archives.

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*The Manger Under the Star*

*Of all the Father's children  
The lowliest ever born  
Was Jesus, son of Mary,  
On that first Christmas morn.*

*In a Judaeon stable  
Far from the world's high way,  
Companioned by the oxen,  
And cradled in the hay!*

*And yet, before that manger  
The wisest of the earth  
Came with their royal presents  
To celebrate this birth;*

*While voices on the starlight  
Rang out in glad acclaim  
Hosannas in the highest  
And glory to His name*

*E. J. Pratt*

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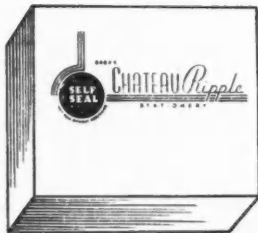
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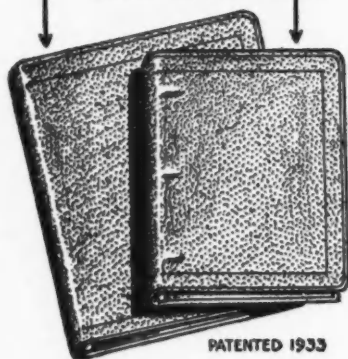
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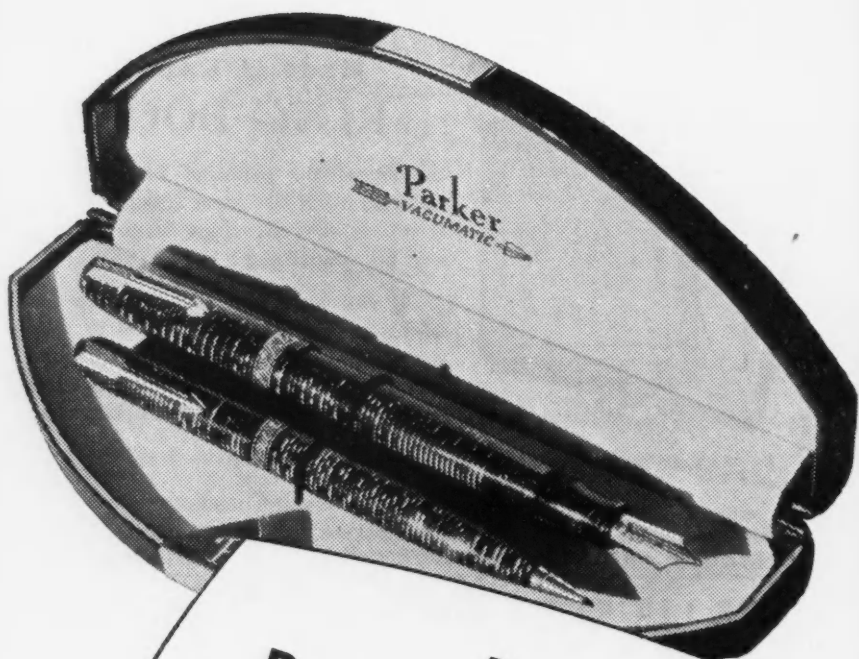
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